UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE BEHAVIOR-PROBLEM BOY

A SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

ALBERT ALEXANDER OWENS

A THESIS

IN EDUCATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Albert Alexander Owens
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FOREWORD

Practically every school system is confronted with the problem of the boy who either cannot or will not conform; the boy who stands out prominently in his class because of his failure to identify himself with the group to which he, as a pupil, belongs. Despite the best efforts of teachers and principals there seems to be no adequate solution as to the social adjustment of boys who constitute the behavior-problem group. This type of boy tends to disrupt the school organization, destroy the morale of the classroom, and make teaching unpleasant and difficult.

The lack of adjustment between the boy and the school continues even after a transfer has been effected from one teacher to another with the hope that a change of personality may ameliorate the condition. Frequently such boys are transferred to a neighboring school so that a complete change of school environment may prove an effective instrument for adjustment.

Notwithstanding these changes and the continued efforts made to solve the problem presented by these behavior cases, many boys still persist in their anti-social tendencies. As a further step in the possible solution of the problem, many school systems have established disciplinary and parental schools. Boys (and girls) are sent to these schools when they have failed to adjust themselves to the conditions existing in the regular school organization.

To what extent are these specialized schools more effective in making the necessary social adjustments in the pupils than the regular schools? This question has not been satisfactorily answered. The segregation of problem cases, however, is of definite value insofar as it removes from the regular schools the cases that tend to disrupt the organization and lower the morale of the classroom. It removes a definite teaching burden from the teacher and enables her to do a more effective piece of work with the children who do conform.

The problem child, however, remains such in the disciplinary center. If this highly specialized type of school is to have more than a negative value it should undertake as its major function the solution of the principal problem presented by the behavior-

problem child, namely, that of securing harmonious living with his fellow human beings. This involves (1) a study of the conditions and factors that may be instrumental in creating problem cases, (2) an adjustment of the methods of classroom management, teaching, and curricula that fit the particular needs of the problem child, (3) an adequate investigation to determine the extent to which these behavior children adjust themselves to society in their post-school careers.

Notwithstanding the magnitude and importance of the problem relatively little research has thus far been undertaken. Most of the literature and studies pertaining to juveniles are concerned with delinquents, using the latter term to include only those children who have been arrested and who have made one or more appearances in the juvenile court. It is patent that the behavior-problem cases and the delinquents are not necessarily mutually inclusive. The former group constitutes those boys who failed to adjust themselves to school situations and who may or may not have court records. The latter group is composed of boys who may or may not conform as far as school life is concerned, but who have run afoul of the laws of the community.

A priori one would conclude that there would be considerable overlapping; the non-conformist in school tending to be the law evader on the streets, and vice-versa. While this condition is generally true, insofar as the boys in this study are concerned, yet it seems unjust to the boys who are without court records to place them in the same category with those who have had contact with the court.

The present study is a survey undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information that may be of assistance and value in securing:

1. A knowledge of what constitutes the behavior-problem boy based upon a scientific investigation of the conditions surrounding him which may have been instrumental in the development of his anti-social tendencies.
2. A more intelligent judgment with reference to the possible usefulness of the disciplinary school in serving these children.
3. A knowledge of the post-school career of the behavior-

problem boy as a measure of the effectiveness of the work of the disciplinary school, and as a partial answer to the question as to whether or not these boys make good in later life.

The data were secured from the William A. Lee School in Philadelphia (now the Daniel Boone School). This school is the disciplinary center for the entire city. To it are sent the boys presenting the most pronounced anti-social tendencies. The entire student body is composed of this type of boy. The judgment of the principal recommending the transfer of a problem case to the Boone School must be approved by the superintendent of the district in which the regular school is located. (Philadelphia is divided into ten districts, each in charge of a district superintendent.) In addition to the customary records (registration and medical cards) there is forwarded to the disciplinary school a record of the offenses that served as the immediate cause of the transfer to the center (Appendix A).

Further data for this study were secured from the reports of the psychological examinations given to most of the boys (Appendix G), as well as from personal interviews held with each boy admitted during the year 1926–1927 (Appendix B). A record blank (Appendix C) was also filled out for each boy dropped from the school roll during the same period. The Whitter Scales for Grading Home and Neighborhood Conditions (Appendices D and E) were employed in the ratings of the homes and neighborhoods of some of the boys admitted during 1926–1927. In the follow-up work with the boys dropped from the school roll during the years 1920–1921 and 1921–1922, a record blank (Appendix F) was formulated to serve as a guide in collecting the data.

Wherever possible the data secured were compared with other data gleaned from the current literature on the behavior-problem boy and the delinquent boy.

I

Review of Studies in the Field

1. *Definition of Delinquency and Behavior-Problem Cases*

Inclusiveness of the term "Juvenile Delinquent".—Most of the literature that has any bearing on the problem of unadjusted boys deals with those who are technically delinquent in the sense that they have been subjected to arrest and, frequently, committed to an institution of one sort or another. Just who should be included under the term "juvenile delinquent" is difficult to determine from a study of the literature. Some writers take a broad and all-inclusive view of the term, holding that not only those who violate state or city ordinances should be classed as delinquents, but that it should also embrace those whose antisocial tendencies are of such a serious nature that they are likely to come to the notice of the courts. This broader implication of the term delinquent has been given legal sanction, as is illustrated by the Illinois Revised Statutes, chapter 23, section 169:

> The word "delinquent child" shall mean any male child who while under the age of seventeen years or any female child who while under the age of eighteen years, violates any law of this State; or is incorrigible, or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons; or without just cause and without that (the) consent of its parents, guardian or custodian absents itself from its home or place of abode, or is growing up in idleness or crime; or knowingly frequents a house of ill-repute; or knowingly frequents any policy shop or place where any gaming device is operated; or frequents any saloon or dram shop where intoxicating liquors are sold; or patronizes or visits any public pool room or bucket shop; or wanders about the street in the night time without being on any lawful business or lawful occupations; or habitually wanders about any railroad yards or tracks or jumps or attempts to jump onto (any) moving train; or enters any car or engine without lawful authority; or uses vile, obscene, vulgar, profane or indecent language in (any) public place or about any school house; or is guilty of indecent or lascivious conduct; any child committing any of these acts herein mentioned shall be deemed

a delinquent child and shall be cared for as such in the manner hereinafter provided.

Contrasted with this broader connotation of the term, there is a decidedly narrow interpretation made by some workers in the field. This opposing point of view may be epitomized by citing the attitude of Van Waters who believes that:

> On last analysis the true definition of delinquency would be something not properly to be applied to children; some act, or breach of faith which would tend to destroy the dignity and integrity of human life. This would be the act of an adult, or a mature personality,—not the act of a child.[1]

Multiplicity of Terminology.—In addition to a difference of opinion as to the inclusiveness of the term delinquent, there is also a tendency toward a multiplication of terminology that tends to be misleading. The "morally weak-minded," the "maladjusted," the "neurotic," and the "psychopath" have definite connotations, but are all too frequently used to express a concept peculiar to the speaker. There is, however, a common element present in the use of these terms, which may be attributed to the fact that they all express a phase of a larger problem. Lente,[2] for example, uses the term "psychopathic" child to distinguish the neurotic child from the feeble-minded one, or the one of simple mental retardation, for the neurotic child may have good intelligence, and would often be classed as normal but for the marked frequency of behavior difficulties. It is his outstanding handicaps of personality that mark him as being different from other children. Throughout the literature there is a general consensus of opinion that the delinquent, the difficult child, the psychopath, or whatever you choose to call him, is, in the last analysis, the individual who is maladjusted and is in conflict with his environment. This thought has been admirably expressed by Van Waters in the following words:

> The offending child is in conflict with the behavior-codes of the normal

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[1] Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925, p. 156.

[2] Lente, Minnie B. Report on the Study of the Psychopathic Child. Vineland, N. J.: *The Training School Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII (Oct.-Nov., 1921), p. 11–16.

home, school, neighborhood, and community. His emotional goals are the same as ours. He is seeking certain biological and social necessities which we vaguely labe comfort, security, response, or self-assertion, and the like. As we all do, he is responding to the cravings of his inmost being. We call him "unadjusted", or "maladjusted", because his behavior is out of harmony with the standards of chastity, property, order, and personal safety with which we are familiar and to which we yield our social approval.[3]

Definition of the Behavior-Problem Boy. It thus becomes increasingly apparent that when we use the terms above mentioned we may be referring to the same individual, but looking at him from different angles. We must come to the conclusion, therefore, that while we may be referring to one and the same individual we must also think in similar terms and from a common viewpoint. Without a mutual understanding, progress cannot be expected. What is needed from the point of view of a study of the behavior-problem boy is a clear-cut, universal concept of what constitutes such an individual.

The definition formulated by the Co-operating Committees on Behavior Problems of Chi dren of the National Education Association and the National Conference of Social Work under the guidance of Miss Olive M. Jones represents the consensus of opinion of two leading groups dealing with children. These committees have concluded that:

> Behavior problem children are those who stand out or who differ from others of their group because of certain undesirable habits, personality traits, or behavior in the home, school, or community; whose conduct interferes, or is likely to interfere with the individual's (or the group's) fullest development and usefulness socially, educationally, or hygienically; and whose behavior may result in more serious handicaps of one sort or another in later life.[4]

This definition is extremely broad and quite inclusive yet, representing, as it does, the conclusion reached by the two

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[3] Addams, Jane, and others. *The Child, the Clinic and the Court.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1925, p. 18–19.

[4] Jones, Olive M. (chairman). Report of the Cooperating Committees on Behavior Problems of Children of the National Education Association and the National Conference of Social Work. *National Education Association,* (1926), p. 2.

groups mentioned above, it may be accepted as a general definition.

For purposes of this survey, however, it will be necessary to modify the definition to suit the occasion and state that: *Behavior-problem boys are those who, because of their undesirable behavior in the school, or neighborhood, or their failure to comply with the provisions of the School Code, or for any other reason acceptable to the superintendent of schools in charge, are transferred to the disciplinary school.*

Reference to the case studies in Appendix H and to section one of Chapter II will serve to indicate the range of offenses that have necessitated transfer of boys to the disciplinary school.

2. *Causes of Delinquency and Behavior-Problem Cases*

Difficulties in Determining Causation.—Many and varied are the causes assigned for the production of delinquency and behavior-problems among children. A predisposition frequently determines where the investigator will place his emphasis when making a study of the factors that are conducive to the development of undesirable traits. Many observers believe that the child is never wrong, but simply the victim of circumstances. Others point to the home as the source of trouble. Again we find those who attribute waywardness and delinquency to inheritance, thereby making it next to impossible to expect any other type of conduct from the individual so tainted. There are some workers in the field of delinquency and behavior-problems who conclude that, after all explaining has been done, many cases remain that cannot be explained away. Case Nine (see Appendix H) illustrates the type of individual who cannot be classified, and for whose misbehavior no causes, either tangible or intangible, could be determined.

Home Conditions as a Factor.—There is considerable unanimity of opinion concerning the part played by the home in the creation of conduct disorders and delinquency. Very few writers claim that home conditions constitute the sole factor in the production of anti-social tendencies on the part of the children, but they have concluded that they not infrequently represent the major cause. Broken homes, wherein one or both parents are dead, or morally

or mentally unable to exercise control of their children, are almost always associated with bad environment, idleness, and vicious and perverted habits. Children from such homes cannot fail to see and to hear during the plastic and impressionable period, when their characters are being formed, much that determines what they are today and what they will be in the future. On the other hand there are some good homes wherein the children are overindulged, with much the same results as occur in the broken homes.

The frequency with which the home enters into the development of delinquent tendencies is well illustrated in the case studies that follow (Appendix H), particularly Cases One, Two, Three, Four, Six, Eight and Ten.

Plurality of Causation.—One fact becomes increasingly apparent in reviewing the literature of delinquency and behavior-problems—the fact of multiple determination. No one source is responsible for the production of anti-social tendencies. The number of causes assigned varies from three to fifteen, and depends upon the inclusiveness of the terminology employed by the investigator and the scope of his work. Among the most frequently mentioned causes are (1) defective discipline, (2) associates outside the home, (3) emotional instability, (4) poor adjustment of school conditions to ability of the individual, (5) defective family relationships.

The determination of the cause or causes of behavior-problems and delinquency among children is not a simple task. Any attempt to determine just what factors must be considered in settling the question of causation must, if it is to be at all complete, consider (1) the boy himself, both as a physical and mental being; (2) the physical environment and all its influences upon the physical, mental and moral life of the individual; (3) the social environment, the people with whom he comes in contact, whether it be his own family, his playmates or passing strangers, and (4) the imaginative contacts through books, the theatre, the movies, and the newspapers. If any of these factors are ignored, one of the possible sources of the cause of behavior-problems will have been neglected, and to just that extent the picture is incomplete. With few exceptions the case

studies already referred to illustrate the frequency with which more than one cause is associated with the production of conduct disorders. Even when there seems to be a dominant factor of causation present there will usually be found one or more contributory conditions.

Heredity Versus Environment.—Discussion is rife as to the relative influence of heredity and environment as a causative factor in the production of behavior problems and delinquency. Each side has its adherents. Among the extremists in favor of environment as the dominant factor is Neill. He says:

> Many psychologists believe that a child is born neither good nor bad, but with tendencies to goodness and criminality. I follow Homer Lane in believing that there is no instinct of criminality and no natural tendency to badness. Criminality appears in a child as a perverted form of love. It springs from lack of love.[5]

At the opposite extreme stands Goring, among others, who discards almost entirely the influence of environment on the production of criminal tendencies. It should be noted, in passing, that Goring is speaking of the English convict when he says:

> From the general trend of the results . . . our interim conclusion is that, relatively to its origin in the constitution of the malefactor, and especially in his mentally defective constitution, crime in this country is only to a trifling extent (if to any) the product of social inequality, or of adverse environment, or of other manifestations of what may be comprehensively termed "the force of circumstances".[6]

Between the two extremes illustrated above there ranges a diversity of opinion as to the relative influence of one factor over the other. While most writers acknowledge that heredity is a factor that must be considered, there exists much disagreement as to the extent to which it is a factor. This is not surprising since there is a corresponding lack of agreement as to the relative

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[5] Neill, A. S. *The Problem Child.* New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1927, p. 199.

[6] Goring, C. *The English Convict.* London: Wyman & Sons, Ltd., 1913, p. 288.

influence of the divers environmental conditions that are instrumental in making for delinquency.

Considering the wide range of opinion among authorities in the field of delinquency it is not surprising that the question "Which one is correct?" should arise. It is not clarifying the situation to answer that each one is correct from the particular angle from which the problem is viewed. It would be more profitable to examine the evidence upon which the conclusions were drawn and to accept the authority giving the best proof. Proceeding along these lines one is forced from an examination of the data to conclude that Burt offers the most convincing evidence for his statements. In summing up the relative influence of congenital and environmental factors on delinquent and non-delinquent groups he says:

> Congenital factors have been recorded among delinquents rather more than three times as often as among non-delinquents, and non-congenital factors rather less than three times as often. If we consider in each case the major factors alone, we find it to belong to the congenital group among 36 per cent of the boys and among 41 per cent of the girls; so that, in well over one-third of all the cases, but in rather less than one-half, some deep constitutional failing proves the primary source of misconduct.
>
> Hence, the share of innate conditions in the production of juvenile delinquency is beyond doubt considerable. These, indeed, are the cases that are likely to prove the most obdurate and to stand mainly in need of palliative rather than punitive measures. But it would be a gross distortion—a mistake too commonly deduced from current fatalistic theories—to paint every criminal as the helpless victim of his inborn nature. At the same time, it will be perceived, there still remains a large balance of offenders—between 60 and 65 per cent of the total—whose lawless actions have been precipitated primarily by the difficulties of their environment or by the events of their own past life. Thus the part played by heredity or endowment is in a majority of cases that of a minor or predisposing cause.[7]

Summary.—In reviewing the question under discussion in this portion of the chapter the conclusion is forced upon us that much of the difficulty in determining the causes of delinquency and

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[7] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1925, p. 580–581.

behavior-problems is due to the fact that no single source or influence can be seized upon as the factor of causation.

Poor home conditions stand out prominently as one cause, but not the only one. Heredity and environment, in their various and diverse manifestations, also have a share in the production of delinquent and anti-social tendencies. The extent to which one of these factors enters into the problem seems to be a moot question, and, indeed, one that seems likely to remain so for some time to come. Cases Three and Four (Appendix H) serve to indicate the difficulty to be encountered in divorcing the hereditary and the environmental factors. Burt seems to have summed up very succinctly the entire case of heredity versus environment when he says:

> Some natures remain unsoiled though sunk for years in mud; others are porous and penetrable; and the grime works into the grain. It is the personal reaction to a given situation that makes a man a criminal, not the situation itself. It is not bad surroundings alone that create delinquency, but the workings of these bad surroundings on the thoughts and feelings of a susceptible mind.[8]

3. *Prevention and Cure of Delinquency and Behavior-Problem Cases*

Need of a Scientific Attitude.—The extent to which delinquency and behavior-problems can be prevented and cured is dependent upon what one holds to be the cause or causes. If we accept the point of view that delinquency is attributable only to heredity, we are forced to accept the conclusion that little help can be rendered the unfortunates (see Case Five). If, however, other factors are admitted into our theory of causation we have a more hopeful and a more helpful outlook.

The balance of opinion seems to indicate that while heredity is a factor in some cases, there are other elements entering into the situation. The hope of society lies in the removal or alteration of the conditions that are possible of modification.

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[8] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 179.

In spite of the increasing volume of literature on the subject there is an absence of concrete suggestions and tangible methods for the prevention and cure of conduct disorders. Armchair philosophy will never suffice. Real progress is dependent upon the utilization of a scientific technique that will not only determine the factors of causation, but will, upon the foundation thus established, develop a procedure that will solve at least some of the problems presented by the delinquent. Healy and Bronner are of the opinion that:

> A rational method of meeting the needs of the youthful offender, which indirectly affords, of course, the greatest protection to society by thwarting his prospective career, is only to be developed by utilizing the facts acquired through a good technic of medico-psychology. This procedure, carried out with sympathy and thoroughness, will contribute greatly to the effectiveness of courts and of other human agencies which attempt some solution of the problems of delinquency. Many of the huge number of failures which occur under the ordinary system it will be possible to avoid. Moreover, evaluating any method or régime as conducted under court or institutional auspices is rationally possible only when the essential facts of causation and potentialities of the human material handled form the basis of judgment.[9]

The extension of the use of objective, standardized tests is advocated as a scientific approach to a study of the problem. Beanblossom expresses himself thus in reference to the use of such tests:

> Barring the criminal by accident or mishap, it is at least a fair presumption to say that all criminals have some sort of defect; but such defects are often so recondite that not until well planned, verified and standardized tests of will and emotion are brought into conjunction with even better planned intellectual tests, shall we be able to accurately diagnose and judiciously prescribe for our delinquent brother.[10]

Acceptance of a scientific attitude toward the study of

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[9] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. Medico-Psychological Study of Delinquents. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. III, (July, 1919), p. 445–452.

[10] Beanblossom, M. L. *Mental Examination of Two Thousand Delinquent Boys and Young Men.* Jeffersonville, Ind.: Indiana Reformatory Print, 1916, p. 23.

behavior-problems carries with it an acknowledgment of the value of early treatment of the individuals who exhibit tendencies of developing into problem cases. Our knowledge of the laws of habit formation indicates that if we were to deal with these cases before bad habits have been firmly established, we would obtain a greater degree of success than if we postpone action until the fixation of undesirable behavior patterns is an accepted fact.

Individual Treatment Essential.—Mass statistics, scientific though they may be, are generally inadequate. We must carefully study each individual as an entity. All deviates are not alike. The multiplicity of factors in causation necessarily implies a wide variation in treatment. A procedure that secures results in one case will not necessarily succeed in other cases. This does not imply that there is no inherent value in formulating general principles. It suggests that, having such principles as a foundation and a point of departure, we may direct the progress of any particular problem to the best advantage through individual study. Healy has summed up this point of view when he says:

> The dynamic center of the whole problem of delinquency and crime will ever be the individual offender.[11]

Consideration of the subject of individual treatment carries with it as an inseparable but often neglected concomitant, the personality and attitude of the individual who undertakes the solution of the problem. Although rather intangible and elusive, the human element in corrective work must be taken into account. Blumgart has expressed this thought most admirably. He states:

> One of the strongest, if not the most important factors in the improvement of the children is the human attitude of the person who undertakes their supervision. No training, no collegiate or post-graduate degree can take the place of this personality factor; formal education, it is true, may make it a better instrument for working with the child, but it is after all *the* agent or force

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[11] Healy, William. *The Individual Delinquent.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1915, p. 22.

that the child needs. It can probably best be defined as that objective attitude toward a child that is based on the observer's own habits of behavior consciously understood, guided, and, as far as possible, scientifically formulated. Without it, an individual in his relation to children is hopeless, nay, worse than hopeless; with it, a great many things are possible.

All who come into contact with the child have the duty of bringing this *factor* to the problem. It is not enough that one be well trained in the arts and sciences and especially medicine, but one must be able to give this intangible, illusive, tenuous factor called understanding a definite scientific formulation and background. It must show in everything he does, in every word and attitude toward the child. We have records that show that the improvement in the child dates from the day when he appreciated the fact that there was some one who was interested in him, not another agency that was against him.[12]

Reformation of the Home.—No program for the prevention of delinquency can stop with consideration of the individual alone. Just as other factors have been instrumental in the production of conduct disorders, so must they be taken cognizance of in the matter of correction.

The parents, as well as other adults with whom the delinquent has contact, come in for a share of the blame. The shortcomings of parents are frequently the causes of many of the behavior-problems that arise.

Where the home exerts a negative influence through ignorance (Cases Three, Four, Five and Six) the problem is difficult enough, but it is even worse where the parents consciously evade their responsibilities (Cases One and Two). In such instances there is even greater need for reformation in the home by requiring the parents to acknowledge the obligations they have assumed and, if necessary, by forcing them to meet them.

The School's Responsibility.—The school has to assume, and justly so, a proportionate share of responsibility for the prevention of delinquency. The organization and administration, as well as the teaching staff, of our schools have been adversely criticized for their failure to prevent the development of delinquent tendencies. Dr. Jessie Taft is of the opinion that "many

[12] Blumgart, Leonard. Observations on Maladjusted Children. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. V, No. 2, (April, 1921), p. 327–341.

of the incorrigibles could be saved by the public schools." She further explains just what is necessary if this preventive work is to be carried through to a successful conclusion.

> It would mean teachers with a new psychology; it would mean more time to each individual child; it would mean small classes, more buildings, more teachers and a great deal more money; but in the long run it would save money as well as children. The attention has to be given to the neurotic children sometime. They make us pay for refusing it early, by exacting later, in our many institutions, in ruined homes, in wasted lives and squandered energy.[13]

Blumgart, also has expressed himself regarding the part the schools should play in meeting the situation presented by the presence of maladjusted children in our classes. He is of the opinion that:

> To provide for the needs of the emotionally maladjusted child, the school should establish small classes, including not more than ten, in which the neurotic child could be more carefully studied. The attitude of the school toward this class should not be that it is a punishment, but that it is an attempt to treat the child's behavior as a symptom. The child should be sent back to the regular classes just as soon as possible. The neurotic child feels himself as a thing apart, and some of his behavior is due to the attempt to get back into the group. It would be wise, therefore, to make the adjustment not only during school hours, but also outside of them. This can best be done by intensive individual study of the child in the home and school and by placing him in contact with somebody outside of the school, such as a visiting teacher, who thoroughly understands him, whom he knows has his interest at heart. *It is to this influence on the part of a visiting teacher and the psychiatric social worker that most of the improvement in our cases is ascribed.*[14]

White criticizes the attitude of both parents and teachers toward children in the matter of personality development. He says:

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[13] Lente, Minnie B. Report on the Study of the Psychopathic Child. Vineland, N. J.: *The Training School Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, (Oct.-Nov., 1921) p. 96.

[14] Blumgart, Leonard. Observation on Maladjusted Children. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. V, No. 2, (April, 1921), p. 338–339.

The tendency of parents and teachers is to attempt to mold the personality of the child in the form that *they* think is the right one. This tendency is almost sure to be a wrong one because the personality make-up, that is, the components that go into the making of a personality and their relation, is altogether a too complex affair to warrant anyone in attempting the application of any hard and fast rules. The impetus and initiative must come from within the child and it should be the function of a parent and teacher alike to attempt to find out what it is that is seeking expression and help the child in the unfolding and development of these tendencies.[15]

Van Waters draws a very unfavorable picture of what may be true in some school systems. She says:

In some school systems, if a boy absents himself from school, a warrant is issued for his arrest; he is treated like a criminal. Again, he may be roughly handled by the attendance officer, turned out of his school by the principal to be sent to a "Special School" or Parental Class where, without further investigation, some hardy young teacher, intellectually and socially not far advanced beyond the delinquent herds him with "bad boys" and young "rough necks" and ignorantly administers "swats" with a paddle to make him manly, and baseball to make him a "regular guy" without slightest reference to the needs of childhood.[16]

Perhaps the most stimulating acknowledgment of the progress made by the schools is expressed by Breckenridge and Abbott who point out some of the numerous activities engaged in by the school system that are helpful in solving the problem of the delinquent. They say:

That the schools are trying to meet the needs of the delinquent child and to remove such causes of delinquency as illiteracy and truancy is evidenced in many ways: by constant improvement in the methods of enforcing the compulsory education and the child labor laws; by the establishment of ungraded classes or subnormal rooms, to care more satisfactorily for the dull or backward child; by the vacation school, which provides a healthy substitute for the street in the summer; and finally by the manual training centers, which are

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[15] O'Shea, M. V. (Editor). *The Child—His Nature and His Needs.* Valparaiso, Indiana: The Children's Foundation, 1924, p. 200.

[16] Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925, p. 91.

referred to so touchingly in the school statements of those boys who said that the "studies that helped them most" were, as they expressed it, "work with hands". Even the children can connect instruction in these centers quite definitely with that lifelong work with the hands which is sure to be their portion. And finally, it should not be forgotten that these illiterate children are also, many of them, children of illiterate and degraded parents, and that upon the home, rather than upon the school and the court, must be placed the true responsibility for the ignorant child.[17]

That the picture is not so bad as some writers have painted it is evidenced by the fact that many school systems recognize the behavior-problem children and are making provisions for their care and training. To be sure, we have much to accomplish, but the conditions and methods described by Van Waters are hardly characteristic of the country at large. The segregation of problem cases into special classes or schools is in itself of value, if only to those who remain in the regular classroom. However, the work rarely stops there. The segregation of the problem children constitutes but the first step in the process. The selection of pupils for special classes because of conduct disorders, and the differentiation of the various types of children is explained by Horn who comes to the conclusion:

that all schools and departments dealing with truancy and incorrigibility should be equipped with facilities for diagnosing intelligence status; that children found to be feeble-minded and incapable of ultimate self-maintenance in society should be placed in institutions; that children who are dull but not typical institution cases should be placed in schools and classes adapted to their degree of intelligence; that, so far as concerns real incorrigibility and truancy, i. e., offenses of this character on the part of children of average or better than average intelligence, a group that will represent numerically a comparatively small problem, special studies need to be made regarding causes and, in terms of the findings, special educational provisions, should be made.[18]

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[17] Breckenridge, S. P. and Abbott, Edith, *The Delinquent Child and the Home.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1912, p. 146.

[18] Horn, John L. *The Education of Exceptional Children.* New York: The Century Company, 1924, p. 192.

The general program of the special school for handling the disciplinary boy is briefly explained by McDonald, who says:

> The majority of disciplinary schools or classes are comprised of boys. They are assigned to the special class or institution by the superintendent or by the Juvenile Court. The boys are placed in charge of a strong and skillful teacher and are given a great deal of handwork, particularly bench work with wood and metal, so that their interest may be developed and wholesome school habits engendered. The articles made are chiefly those used at home or at school. When a boy has shown evidence of marked improvement he is returned to the regular grades.[19]

Van Waters indicates what should be the qualifications of teachers and the objectives of the work in correctional institutions of the residential type. She is of the opinion that:

> Correctional schools should have better teachers than other schools, if the damage caused by previous lack of school and educational blunders is to be repaired. The instructors should be qualified educators, plus training in mental hygiene. Above all they should be personally adapted to deal with delinquents. Methods of study should be individual; some form of project method is desirable. Competition in the usual sense should not be permitted, since it is likely to be both dangerous and ineffectual in the cases of children laboring under behavior difficulties. The curriculum should contain vital subject matter, and be as plastic as possible. The teacher in a school for delinquents is given unusual opportunity for working with the whole child, mind, body, spirit; she cannot so readily forget his outside interests, ambitions, likes and dislikes. His personality is likely to be better revealed, if she is at all alert, than in the day school, where he is swallowed up into city streets the moment he leaves the door and where his home life is unknown.[20]

Institutions Versus Foster Homes.—A consideration of special schools of the residential type in the prevention and cure of behavior-problems leads inevitably to the question of the merits of institutional training. There is evidence of the growth of a

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[19] McDonald, Robert A. F. *Adjustment of School Organization to Various Population Groups.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 75, 1915, p. 24–25.

[20] Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925, p. 209–210.

sentiment in opposition to the use of such a method. Those who hold such a view are of the opinion that the home, however poor it may be, is better than an institution. The fear is expressed that the inmates of such places will be "institutionalized". An intermediate step that avoids the dangers of institutions and retains the benefits of homes is placement in foster homes. This procedure has its advantages, but has shortcomings that are not clearly seen.

Engel points out the superiority of the institution over the foster home in handling juvenile delinquents. He says:

> For such children it is even harder to find suitable foster-parents than it is for those who are simply abandoned. Few are willing to undertake the difficult task of bringing up such children, and fewer foster-parents still are in a position to give them a suitable upbringing. The strict handling they require is much easier to enforce in an institution or a colony than in an ordinary family. There is often good reason to be afraid that a juvenile criminal or neglected child, if boarded with a family, will corrupt the younger members of that family.[21]

Much the same attitude is taken by Cabot in his introduction to the work of Drucker and Hexter. While not decrying the merits of foster homes he feels that the institution is not infrequently the place for the boy who has exhibited a decided tendency to become a behavior problem. He expresses his belief that:

> For wayward, "stubborn", or delinquent children, not so advanced in criminality as to need confinement in a reformatory, yet clearly going from bad to worse in their own homes, the policy of "placing out" is often unsuccessful. The change from city life and street gangs to suburban or country life, with its simpler and healthier experiences, *may* be all that the delinquent needs—especially the milder cases. Often, however, the new home works no better than the old. The child has to be "placed" again and again, until it becomes clear that this policy does not work.

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[21] Engel, Sigmund. *The Elements of Child-Protection.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912, p. 236.

Under these circumstances, or when first-rate foster homes are not available, institutional life and especially *institutional training without legal confinement* may be just what is needed.[22]

A consideration of institutional treatment in a program for the prevention of delinquency and behavior-problems must of necessity consider what cases, if any, should be recommended for commitment. Obviously not all cases need be treated in such manner. Jacoby believes that there are three types:

First, those in which the child is so great a menace to the community that it seems advisable to confine him for the protection of the community; and second, those which are in need of the treatment afforded at a particular institution.

It sometimes becomes necessary, however, to institutionalize a child, not because he is in need of any particular treatment that the institution can give him, but rather to remove him from the pernicious influence of his home.[23]

If we accept the point of view that much delinquency and maladjustment is hereditary or so firmly fixed as to be ineradicable, we will be inclined to subscribe to the statement of Goddard that:

A surprising large percentage of the population cannot be reformed no matter how early the process is begun, but must be banished if not to a distant country where they can live their individual lives and gratify all their impulses, at least not to a prison, where they are detained for a short time and then released just as criminalistic as ever, not to say worse through association with others of like tendencies. But rather, that they should be, figuratively speaking, banished to some kind of a colony or institution where they shall remain until definitely cured or transformed. If that be for life, so be it. It is not a punishment, but a kindness both to themselves and to society.[24]

Consideration of the program suggested indicates that it is sound and far-reaching in that it is definite and specific, and

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[22] Drucker, Saul and Hexter, Maurice Beck. *Children Astray.* Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. xi–xii.

[23] Jacoby, A. L. Mental Hygiene Problems of Maladjusted Children as Seen in a Public Clinic. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. V, No. 4, (Oct. 1921), p. 813.

[24] Hoag, Ernest Bryant and Williams, Edward H. *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923, p. xiii.

prevents confirmed delinquents from continually running counter to the social morés.

While it may seem to be rather drastic as far as the individual is concerned, it still gives him the opportunity to resume a place in society if he makes the adjustments necessary to warrant such a privilege. In the last analysis the rights of the individual as regards freedom and liberty cease where danger to society begins.

The relative merits of foster homes and the various types of institutions cannot be definitely determined with any degree of finality. There are so many variable factors that conclusions would tend to be invalid. The first factor would be a determination of the type of institution that is being compared with the foster home. Three types are most common, (1) residential schools controlled by the educational authorities of a community; (2) private institutions where training without legal confinement is afforded, and (3) reform schools, usually under the control of the state. In addition to the variation in the character of the institutions there is also to be considered the methods employed in dealing with the children under their charge. This factor is even more variable than the type of institution. The third point and possibly the most variable of all, is the type of cases accepted by the different institutions. Few foster-parents have the training that will enable them to give problem children the training of which they are greatly in need.

There is evidently a place for both foster homes and institutions in the prevention and cure of problem cases and delinquency. Before sending a case to either foster home or institution there should be a thorough study of the needs of the boy and the plan selected that will be most likely to meet the requirements of the case. The case studies (Appendix H) help to illustrate this point. In Cases Two, Three and Four the residential school is recommended as the place that seems best fitted to meet the needs of the boys; the two latter cases having already been tried in foster homes. Failure of the foster home, as well as the residential school and the reform school, may also be noted in Case Ten. Only the future will tell whether the residential school was the proper choice for Cases One and Eight.

Institutional treatment of specific types is recommended in Cases Five, Six and Seven. Whether or not it would be the best for those particular boys can only be determined if and when such treatment is undertaken.

It is quite possible that, had more data concerning the boys been at hand, together with a more intimate knowledge of the methods of the different institutions and homes, greater success might have been attained in the cases mentioned.

The Court as a Preventive Agency.—The court has a place in the work of prevention that it is not adequately filling. While the juvenile court idea is rapidly spreading, it is not infrequently a juvenile court in name only. The court is, at best, only an adjunct to the schools. The greatest value will be obtained from the work of the court when it becomes an integral part of the school system, presided over by school officials grounded in the law, as well as in the principles of psychology and pedagogy. Hoag and Williams have expressed the need for this sort of relationship between the two institutions. They hold that:

> In preventive measures the court must closely cooperate with the school, for the public school furnishes the greatest sorting ground of young human material to be found anywhere in the world, and it is here, more than anywhere else, that attention must be directed to the discovery of potentially delinquent boys and girls. At present the school and the court are widely separated and it is only in rather rare instances that any methodical attempt is made to bring about adequate cooperation between the two.[25]

Suggested Programs for Treatment of Delinquency and Behavior-Problems.—In addition to the points of view indicated above, several writers have suggested comprehensive plans for the treatment of delinquents. Not all are alike, nor is emphasis equally placed. There is, however, general accord on the majority of factors that should be considered in furthering such a program. Among the best and most comprehensive may be those mentioned

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[25] Hoag, Ernest Bryant and Williams, Edward H. *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923, p. 153.

by Burt[26] and by Bronner.[27] Cornman[28] also lists the means that are being employed by one school system in the prevention of delinquency.

The nature of the present study will not permit the presentation of any of these more elaborate programs. Hoag and Williams in their general conclusions summarize admirably the factors that have been found to be associated with the production of delinquent tendencies, and also indicate briefly what in their judgment must be done if we are to make any appreciable progress in the prevention and elimination of this social evil. In referring to their study of the delinquent they say:

> This consideration of the juvenile delinquent shows that many factors are at work producing delinquency. It shows further that without a careful, scientific consideration of all factors obtainable, no intelligent treatment can be applied. It shows particularly that feeblemindedness, neuroses, epilepsy (often in a masked form), psychopathic personality, juvenile insanity, and various mental complexes are frequently p esent even when not suspected, and that these factors often render the individual personally irresponsible to a large degree. It shows that moral obliquity is often present in individuals whose physical and intellectual states are apparently normal and raises the question of more or less permanent irresponsibility in such instances. It shows the fallacy of treating all cases as if the same degree of responsibility were present, and the same principles and discipline were applicable. It indicates the necessity for further public provision for certain institutional cases and particularly for epilepsy and feeblemindedness. It points to the necessity for the early recognition of conditions of mental defectives and various misfits in the public schools before delinquency actually occurs. It makes it clear that much of the retardation present in public schools is due to unrecognized mental defects. Finally, it shows that the problem of juvenile delinquency cannot be entirely solved in the Juvenile Court, but that its main causes go back into the home, the community, and the social organization. It would especially call attention to the fact that degeneracy and delinquency are closely related and that practical eugenics has here one of its most vital problems. It would, finally, emphasize the necessity for a socially

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[26] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925.

[27] Adams, Jane and others. *The Child, the Clinic and the Court.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1925.

[28] Cornman, Oliver P. New Steps in the Prevention of Delinquency Through the Schools. *The Pennsylvania School Journal.* (October, 1926).

organized court, in which every officer possesses a definite social training and viewpoint.[29]

Summary.—Progress in both the preventive and curative aspects of delinquency and behavior problems is dependent upon the development of a scientific technique that will contribute to the effectiveness of the work of the various agencies and individuals attempting to find a solution to the problem. The subject of individual treatment is inseparably bound up with the problem of developing a scientific technique. General principles having been established as a point of departure, the progress of any particular problem may be directed to the best advantage through individual study.

There is evidence of almost unanimity of opinion among those interested in delinquency and behavior problems that the home often exerts either a negative, or worse than negative, influence upon children and must be given an important place in any preventive and corrective program. The school, because of its strategic position, should and must utilize all of its resources, not only to remedy the damage that has been done elsewhere but also to prevent the development of behavior problems and delinquency.

The relative merits of foster homes and institutions need careful study and evaluation before any conclusions are drawn. Platitudes sound well, but do not always work out satisfactorily. The needs of each particular case must determine whether a foster home or an institution is more likely to aid in the solution of the individual's problem. The burden of proof for the abolition of institutions rests upon those seeking to eliminate them. Possibly the solution is to be found in a better type of organization and administration of institutions, rather than in the removal of them.

The juvenile court will be of greatest value when it becomes an integral part of the school system, presided over by school

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[29] Hoag, Ernest Bryant and Williams, Edward, H., *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923, p. 156–157.

officials grounded in law, as well as in the principles of psychology and pedagogy. At present, the school and the court are, in rare instances only, adequately co-operating to discover and prevent the development of delinquent tendencies among boys and girls.

II

A Survey of Factors to Determine the Behavior-Problem Boy

1. *Causes of Sending Boys to Disciplinary School*

This survey comprises a study of three groups of pupils; first, boys whose names were entered on the W. A. Lee School register during the year 1926–1927; second, those who were dropped from the register during the same year; third, boys whose names were dropped during the years 1920–1921 and 1921–1922. The number of boys included in each of these groups was, respectively, 383, 377, 257 and 356, making a total of 1373 boys about whom the data were secured. The group from which particular data were secured is indicated throughout the study.

The causes for transfer from regular to disciplinary school were taken as the first source for investigation. Such data were obtained from the record (E-21) issued by the regular school for each transferred boy. The frequency of various types of offenses was listed and grouped under appropriate headings. A total of 1100 offenses was charged against 365 boys who entered the school during the year 1926–1927 (Table I).

Throughout the study the boys were differentiated according to race wherever such differentiation was significant. The 265 white boys were charged with a total of 767 offenses, an average of 2.86 offenses per boy, while the negro boys had an average of 3.33 per boy. If such proportions were to remain constant for a sufficient number of cases, we might be justified in concluding that negro boys are more prone to commit the types of offenses that result in transfer to disciplinary centers. Further evidence of this tendency will be indicated by a consideration of the number of boys of each race in proportion to the total school population for each race.

An examination of the various offenses shows that truancy leads for both groups by a wide margin; 52.5 per cent of the white boys and 41.0 per cent of the negro boys being so charged.

The predominance of this particular trait among the boys may indicate that the disciplinary school is largely a "truant" school, or it may indicate that truancy correlates highly with other

TABLE I

OFFENSES CAUSING TRANSFER TO LEE DISCIPLINARY SCHOOL

Boys Admitted 1926–1927

TYPE OF OFFENSE	NUMBER			PER CENT		
	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Truancy						
Truancy	139	41	180	52.5	41.0	49.3
A. W. O. L. (leaving school without permission)	53	15	68	20.0	15.0	18.6
Classroom Offenses						
Disobedience	124	39	163	46.8	39.0	44.7
Disorder	56	31	87	21.1	31.0	23.8
Defiance	51	19	70	19.2	19.0	19.2
Impudence	49	21	70	18.5	21.0	19.2
Insolence	18	6	24	6.8	6.0	6.6
Sullenness	18	3	21	6.8	3.0	5.8
Incorrigibility	16	3	19	6.0	3.0	5.2
Impertinence	9	10	19	3.4	10.0	5.2
Temper tantrums	8	4	12	3.0	4.0	3.3
Stubbornness	4	2	6	1.5	4.0	1.6
Insubordination	4	3	7	1.5	3.0	1.9
Inattention	3	1	4	1.0	1.0	1.1
Lying	3	2	5	1.1	2.0	1.4
Offenses Against Persons						
Fighting or bullying	50	40	90	18.9	40.0	24.7
Threatening officials	20	13	33	7.5	13.0	9.0
Insulting remarks to officials	8	7	15	3.0	7.0	4.1
Cruelty to children	5	8	13	1.9	8.0	3.6
Offenses Against Sex						
Immoral or obscene talk	22	18	40	8.3	18.0	11.0
Immoral actions	11	14	25	4.2	14.0	6.8
Assault	5	4	9	1.9	4.0	2.5
Offenses Against Property						
Stealing	12	10	22	4.5	10.0	6.0
Trespassing	11	2	13	4.2	2.0	3.6
Vandalism	7	0	7	2.6	0.0	1.9
Incendiarism	2	0	2	0.8	0.0	0.5
Miscellaneous Offenses						
Profanity	29	10	39	10.9	10.0	10.7
Smoking	22	2	24	8.3	2.0	6.6
Lawlessness	5	5	10	1.9	5.0	2.7
Intoxication	3	0	3	1.1	0.0	0.8
Total Offenses (Types)	767	333	1100			
Total Cases	265	100	365			

delinquent tendencies. If we accept the statements of other writers on the subject, both conclusions carry considerable validity.

Leaving school without permission is a phase of truancy and also ranks high for both groups, being much higher for the white boys than for the negroes.

The list of classroom offenses shows a wide range of frequency. An examination of the phraseology used by the principals when filling out Form E-21 seems to indicate a lack of uniformity as to what constitutes disobedience, disorder, impudence, etc.

Offenses against individuals, not including sex offenses, constitute a large proportion of the charges against the boys. It is worthy of note that in this particular type of offense the negro boys stand out quite prominently.

Sex offenses and indecent conduct are likewise more frequent among the negro boys.

Offenses against property are of such infrequent occurrence that they show no points of significance except that theft was proportionately twice as great among the negro boys.

The group of miscellaneous offenses completes the portrayal of misdemeanors committed by the type of boy under discussion.

2. *Court Records of Boys Admitted to Disciplinary School*

The picture of these boys is hardly complete when we have enumerated their school offenses. The extent to which behavior-problem cases are also technical delinquents may be secured by reference to Table II-a, which shows the number of boys who had court records at the time of their admission to the disciplinary school. Almost half of each of the racial groups had become more or less familiar with the court procedure through arrest. Furthermore, almost one-half of the groups that had been subject to arrest were still under the jurisdiction and control of the court (Table II-b). Not only had such a large proportion of the boys been taken to task for their anti-social behavior, but a goodly portion of them had committed misdemeanors of such magnitude or had been before the courts so many times that the judges had felt it necessary to restrict the liberty of some of them,

as is shown by the fact that 12.9 per cent and 8.7 per cent, respectively, of the white and negro boys admitted during the year had been committed to reform institutions (Table II-c).

It should be noted that in all phases of the court records of these boys the whites make a poorer showing than do the negroes. This is especially true as regards the boys who have spent time in reform institutions (Table II-c), the percentage of white boys being one-third greater than that of the negroes.

TABLE II

COURT RECORDS OF 279 WHITE BOYS AND 104 NEGRO BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

(a) BOYS WITH COURT RECORDS AT TIME OF ADMISSION

White	134	(48.0%)
Negro	48	(46.2%)
Total	182	(47.5%)

(b) BOYS ON PROBATION AT TIME OF ADMISSION

White	71	(25.4%)
Negro	22	(21.2%)
Total	93	(24.3%)

(c) BOYS FORMERLY IN REFORM INSTITUTIONS

White	36	(12.9%)
Negro	9	(8.7%)
Total	45	(11.7%)

3. *Beginnings of Misbehavior*

Delinquency is said to be an adolescent phenomenon. This is true to the extent that the majority of juvenile delinquents and behavior problems come to the fore at or about that period. Conduct disorders do not develop over night. Youth is pliable

and adjustable, but one hardly expects a boy to be a conformist up to a certain age and then suddenly transform himself into a confirmed behavior-problem case. It would seem more logical to expect a gradual growth and development of good or evil behavior patterns.

An attempt was made, during the second school term that the study was in progress, to secure from the boys admitted during these five months a statement of when their misbehavior began. The results secured may not be entirely accurate as they reflect the expressions of the boys themselves. Some may have hesitated to push too far back their initial step against the social code, although this is not apparent from the results secured for even the limited number of cases included during a short period of five months. The figures given in Tables III and IV indicate that, in the majority of cases, the beginnings of misbehavior antedate the period of adolescence. If similar results were obtainable for a sufficiently large number of cases the conclusion might be warranted that misconduct arises at ages earlier than the period of adolescence, and the behavior patterns thus formed are so firmly fixed that by the beginning of that period serious

TABLE III

AGE WHEN MISBEHAVIOR BEGAN COMPARED WITH AGE WHEN ENTERING LEE SCHOOL (WHITE)

AGE WHEN MISBEHAVIOR BEGAN	AGE AT ENTRANCE									TOTAL
	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	
6		1								1
7			2		1					3
8		2	1		1					4
9		1	2	1	1					5
10		2	4	3	6	6	3			24
11			9	12		3				24
12		8	9	6	4					27
13		8	9	1						18
14		8	2							10
15		1								1
Total		31	38	23	13	9	3			117

Median Age at Time of Entrance to Lee School 14
Median Age for Beginning of Misbehavior 11

attention must be given them. If this is true it would be well for schools to pay more attention to the earlier years with a view toward preventing the development of the undesirable behavior patterns.

TABLE IV

AGE WHEN MISBEHAVIOR BEGAN COMPARED WITH AGE WHEN ENTERING LEE SCHOOL (NEGRO)

AGE WHEN MISBEHAVIOR BEGAN	AGE OF ENTRANCE									
	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	TOTAL
6					1					1
7										0
8				2				2		4
9		1	1	1	2	3	3	1		12
10		2		1	7	6				16
11			2	1	1					4
12		1	5	1						7
13		1		2						3
14		1								1
15		1								1
Total		7	8	8	11	9	3	3		49

Median Age at Time of Entrance to Lee School 12
Median Age for Beginning of Misbehavior 10

Healy and Bronner[1] found the median age of their series of delinquents to lie between fourteen and fifteen, similar to our own. They secured data on 187 cases concerning the age of commencement of delinquency. In forty per cent of the cases delinquency "had commenced one or more years before its discovery by the parents. In 24 per cent of the cases delinquency had begun two or more years before the young offender appeared in court. In the 8 extreme cases delinquency had continued during five or more years prior to court appearance."[2]

Our own figures (Tables III and IV) show that misbehavior began, according to the boys' own statements, as long as nine years before being sent to the disciplinary school. The median

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[1] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 92.

[2] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals—Their making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 96.

age for beginning misbehavior is eleven years for white boys, while the median age at time of entrance to the disciplinary school is fourteen. This would suggest that, generally speaking, it takes three years of misbehavior before such boys are segregated. For the negro boys the medians are, respectively, ten and twelve, slightly lower than for the white boys. Of more significance is the difference of only two years between the medians, suggesting the possibility that these boys are more promptly sent to the disciplinary school. We can only re-emphasize our contention that earlier efforts upon the tendencies of these boys might have had a beneficial effect in molding their behavior patterns.

4. *Physical Status of Behavior-Problem Boys*

The presence of physical defects, such as diseased tonsils or adenoids, carious teeth, malnutrition, defective hearing or defective vision, has often been seized upon as having a causal relation to misbehavior. To properly evaluate the effects of defects upon behavior it would be necessary to make a comparison with the rate of incidence of the defects among children in general.

Burt[3] has done this with regard to height, weight and general bodily growth, and found that the thirteen-year-old boys in the reform schools were nearly four inches shorter and nine pounds lighter than other boys of equal age. He further indicates that most repeating offenders are frail, sickly and infirm; that nearly 70 per cent of his cases were suffering from bodily weaknesses and ill health, and that nearly 50 per cent were in urgent need of medical treatment.

The conclusions reached by Burt are quite at variance with those expressed by Hoag and Williams[4] who, from their experience, conclude that there is usually no greater proportion of diseases and physical defects among juvenile delinquents than among the general population of school children in the same community.

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[3] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 201.

[4] Hoag, Ernest Bryant and Williams, Edward H. *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923, p. 139.

Healy and Bronner[5] are in accord with Hoag and Williams. They have concluded that the delinquents are, in general, closely similar to the general group of young people as far as can be ascertained by available standards of comparison. This fact is strikingly illustrated in their age-weight correlations for delinquent boys in Chicago and Boston. While the median for their groups approximates the norm for the general population of like ages, the variation above the curve is greater than below.

The same condition has been found to hold for 150 boys entering the Lee School during 1926–1927. Figure 1 shows the correlation, using Burk's[6] curve as the norm for the population at large.

Fully two-thirds of the cases are above the curve. As Healy and Bronner point out, this physical overgrowth may have a causal relationship to delinquency through restlessness, need for greater physical self-expression and because of the poor adjustment that may exist in and out of the school on account of this overdevelopment.

The rate of incidence of dental, visual, aural, auditory and nasal defects among the children in the present study is so low that the results are valueless. The absence of these defects may be attributed, in large measure, to the effectiveness of the work of the Division of Medical Inspection of the Philadelphia Public Schools. The routine medical examination on the part of the medical inspectors, together with the follow-up work on the part of the school nurses, serve to keep at a minimum the number of remedial defects.

5. *Intellectual and Educational Status*

Intellectual Status.—A part of the group of boys admitted during the year 1926–1927 was given a psychological examination. Due to limited facilities it was not possible to have every boy in the group tested. The examinations were all of the individual

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[5] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926, Chapter 16.

[6] Burk, Frederic. Growth of Children in Height and Weight. *American Journal of Psychology,* (April, 1898).

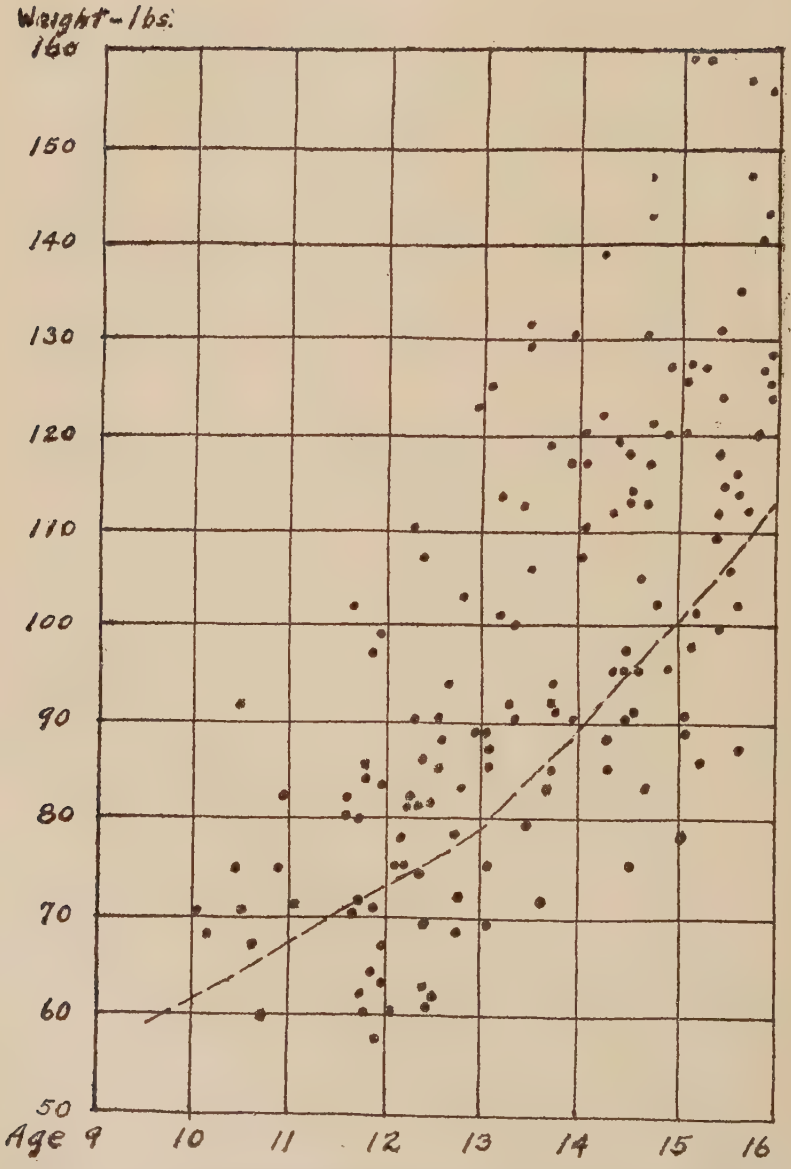

Fig. 1. Age-Weight Correlations—150 Boys Admitted to Lee School 1926-1927. (Curve of Norms Taken from Burk)

type and were conducted by experienced clinical psychologists of the Division of Special Education of the Philadelphia Public Schools. Some of the boys were examined prior to admission to the disciplinary school, but the great majority were tested immediately after their entrance. Boys who were within a month or two of sixteen years of age were not tested unless there was some urgent reason for doing so. The pupils in the school almost invariably leave as soon as released by the Compulsory School Law, hence time spent in examining them would be wasted since there would be no opportunity for constructive efforts toward their reform. Table V and Figure 2 show the distribution of the I. Q.'s of the boys examined. In a few cases only were retests given, therefore the I. Q.'s are based upon the results of a single test, using the Terman Revision of the Binet Scale. We find among the white boys, 12.4 per cent of normal intelligence or better, 54.4 per cent dull normal or borderline and 33.2 per cent definitely deficient mentally. Among the negro boys, 25.3 per cent have normal intelligence, 50.8 per cent dull normal and borderline, and 23.9 per cent mentally deficient. Although the mode for both groups is the same, the median for

TABLE V

Distribution of Intelligence Quotients of 227 Boys Admitted to Lee School 1926–1927

I. Q.	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
110–119 Superior	2	1.2			2	0.9
100–109 (Normal)	9	5.6	7	10.4	16	7.1
90– 99 (Normal)	9	5.6	10	14.9	19	8.4
80– 89 Dull-Normal	31	19.4	16	23.9	47	20.7
70– 79 Borderline Deficiency	56	35.0	18	26.9	74	32.6
60– 69 (Moron)	39	24.4	11	16.4	50	22.0
50– 59 (Moron)	14	8.8	4	6.0	18	7.9
40– 49 Imbecile			1	1.5	1	0.4
Total	160	100.0	67	100.0	227	100.0

	WHITE	NEGRO
Median	75	80
Mode	70–79	70–79
Range	50–119	40–109

thenegro boys is higher than for the white boys, as well as the per centage of those with average intelligence or better.

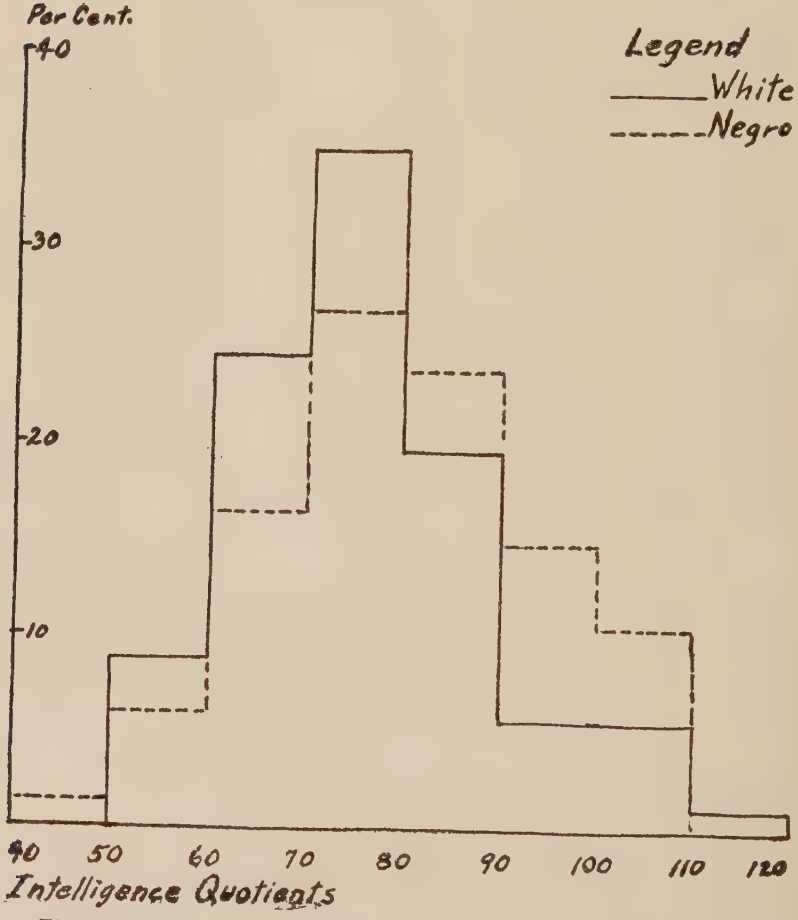

Fig. 2. Distribution of Intelligence Quotients of 160 White and 67 Negro Boys Admitted to Lee School 1926-1927

The extent to which intelligence enters as a factor in creating behavior problems is a much debated question. There seems to be no unanimity of opinion among writers and investigators.

Burt,[7] in his study of juvenile delinquents, found that 47.7 per cent had a mental ratio of 90 or better, 44.7 per cent between 70 and 90, and 7.6 per cent in the moron group or lower. These figures are considerably higher than those secured from the present study, and may present a more accurate picture inasmuch as they cover a greater number of cases. Irwin,[8] in her study of truancy concluded that 43 per cent were actually feeble-minded and 8 per cent of borderline intelligence, leaving slightly less than half of normal intelligence or better. Contrasting with the figures of Irwin are those of Hiatt,[9] who studied one hundred truants in Philadelphia. Based upon the judgments of teachers he cites the following figures: 6 per cent mentally deficient, 26 per cent backward and 68 per cent normal. Farrell[10] found that among forty-six children who were behavior problems, 71 per cent were below average in intelligence; 20 per cent were normal, and 9 per cent were above average. Elmer[11] in his conclusions, states that there are nearly five times as many mental deficients among juvenile delinquents as among the normal school population. Haggerty concluded that:

> The per cent of undesirable behavior is lowest at 100 I. Q. and rises rapidly with variation in either direction, although most rapidly toward the lower end of the intelligence scale. In the case of the more intelligent children the data show that a high behavior score is due to the greater frequency of the less desirable forms of behavior. A high score in the other direction is usually due to the presence of the more serious acts as well as to their greater frequency.[12]

The conclusions drawn by the different investigators as to

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[7] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 282.

[8] Irwin, Elizabeth A. *Truancy.* New York: Public Education Association of the City of New York, 1915, p. 14.

[9] Hiatt, James S. *The Truant Problem and the Parental School.* U. S. Bureau of Education. Bulletin No. 29, 1915. Washington, D. C., p. 12.

[10] Farrell, Elizabeth E. Some Causes of Delinquency in Children. *Ungraded,* Vol. X. No. 2, (November, 1924), p. 28–30.

[11] Elmer, M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St. Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 3.

[12] Haggerty, M. E. The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public School Children. *Journal of Educational Research,* Vol. XII, (Sept. 1925), p. 114–115.

the influence of intelligence upon delinquency and conduct disorders vary in accordance with their findings. The great diversity among the statistics cited, as well as among others not mentioned, serves to cloud the issue and confuse the student searching for facts bearing upon the case. That intelligence has considerable bearing upon the case is not doubted, but that it looms up to the extent that some would have us believe has hardly been proven. The presence of a high or a low I. Q. does not presage success or failure to conform. For every boy with a low I. Q. who has become delinquent, there can readily be found one with the same degree of intelligence who has made the adjustments necessary to acceptable social living. In support of this statement it may be mentioned that at the close of the school year, June 30, 1927, there were in Philadelphia Public Schools a total of 570 boys classified as behavior problems. At the same time there were 3969 boys belonging to the orthogenic backward classes who were not classified as behavior problems.[13] If low intelligence ranked high as a factor in creating conduct problems it would seem to follow that there should be a greater number of such boys classified as behavior problems than is the case. It would seem, therefore, that while intelligence is a valuable aid in developing and maintaining an understanding and acceptance of the moral and social problems confronting youth, it does not necessarily follow that the absence of intelligence must inevitably result in delinquent tendencies and actions. Rather do we think that when a boy becomes a conduct problem he does so notwithstanding his intelligence. It seems more logical to conclude that the behavior patterns and habit reactions that have been formed early in life and built more firmly year after year are the determining factors. If this be true, the school, as well as the home, needs to undertake a more specialized type of training to prevent the development of these reactions and to eradicate those that have been formed. The educational implications, as concerns a school for behavior problem cases, are apparent.

Educational Status.—The educational attainments of the

[13] Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia. Division of Educational Research and Results. *Report for the year ending June 30, 1927*, p. 91.

disciplinary boys are inferior to those of boys in the general school population. Tables VI and VII show the age-grade distribution for the white and negro boys included in the study. These data were secured from the registration cards accompanying each boy from school to school during the entire period of his educational training. The distribution is on the basis of chronological age for the grade, the commonly accepted method of presenting such data. A mental age-grade distribution would be preferable but, since there are no such data for the general school population, comparisons on such a basis would not be possible.

All cases below the line are over age for the grade. The boys classified as O. B. are those who were in orthogenic backward classes immediately prior to their transfer to the disciplinary center. All this O. B. group were over age for their grades. None of the boys were under age for grade, 11.5 per cent of the white boys and 14.4 per cent of the negro boys were in grades normal for their age, while 88.5 per cent of the white boys and 85.6 per cent of the negroes were over age for grade.

TABLE VI

AGE-GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 279 WHITE BOYS AT TIME OF ADMISSION TO LEE SCHOOL–1926—1927

AGE	GRADE									TOTAL
	OB	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
8.....										0
9.....			1							1
10.....	1		1	2	1	1				6
11.....	1		1	6	9	7				24
12.....	3		2	1	6	10	11	1		34
13.....	3		1	3	10	23	14	6	1	61
14.....	5			3	9	17	25	11	4	74
15.....	11			2	4	17	18	20	5	77
16.....							1			1
17.....									1	1
Total	24		6	17	39	75	69	38	11	279
Per Cent Nor. Age	0.0		0.0	0.0	2.6	10.7	15.9	18.4	45.5	
Per. Cent Over Age	100.0		100.0	100.0	97.4	89.3	84.1	81.6	54.5	

TABLE VII

AGE-GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 104 NEGRO BOYS AT TIME OF ADMISSION TO LEE SCHOOL-1926—1927

AGE	GRADE									TOTAL
	OB	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
8	1			1						2
9	3		1	2	2					8
10				2		1				3
11	2		2	3	5	5				17
12	4			3	8	4	2			21
13	4		1	1	4	5	2	2		19
14	6				1	3	7	2		19
15	6				1	2	2	3		14
16						1				1
Total	26		4	12	21	21	13	7		104
Per Cent Normal Age	0.0		0.0	25.0	9.5	28.6	15.4	28.6		
Per Cent Over Age	100.0		100.0	75.0	90.5	71.4	84.6	71.4		

The figures presented above may seem low at first glance and in comparison with the percentages for boys in the regular classes of the elementary schools of the city (Table VIII). The age-grade distribution for all the disciplinary classes in the city shows that only 2.9 per cent of the boys are of normal age for grade, as compared with the 11.5 per cent and 14.4 per cent for the two groups included in the study. In making the comparison it must be remembered that the figures given for the regular classes in the elementary schools and for all the disciplinary classes in the city include all the pupils on roll in the schools on a given date, while the statistics for the boys included in the study are taken as of the date of their admission.

Bearing in mind the limited number of cases, it may be pointed out that the negro boys have a greater percentage of normal age for grade than do the white boys.

The inferior intelligence ratings of the disciplinary boys, added to their evident inability to keep up to grade, seem to indicate that there is great need for giving serious consideration to the matter of curriculum adjustments. It has been demonstrated above that truancy enters largely as a causative factor in

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION IN THE GRADES BY AGES OF PUPILS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION FOR ALL REGULAR AND ORTHOGENIC DISCIPLINARY CLASSES IN THE CITY

GRADE	OB	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
*Regular Classes										
Under Age.....		8.3	4.4	4.5	5.0	4.6	5.8	7.1	10.3	5.8
Normal Age...		73.7	63.9	55.1	46.9	42.9	41.0	43.4	50.0	53.9
Over Age.....		18.0	31.7	40.4	48.1	52.5	53.2	49.5	39.7	40.3
*Orthogenic Disciplinary Classes										
Under Age										
Normal Age...				2.0	1.4	3.1	3.4	9.8		2.9
Over Age.....		100.0	100.0	98.0	98.6	96.9	96.6	90.2	100.0	97.1
W. A. Lee Pupils —White										
Under Age										
Normal Age...					2.6	10.7	15.9	18.4	45.5	11.5
Over Age.....	100.0		100.0	100.0	97.4	89.3	84.1	81.6	54.5	88.5
W. A. Lee Pupils —Negro										
Under Age										
Normal Age...				25.0	9.5	28.6	15.4	28.6		14.4
Over Age.....	100.0		100.0	75.0	90.5	71.4	84.6	71.4		85.6

* Report of Division of Educational Research and Results, Philadelphia Public Schools, for year ending June 30, 1926, Table 37, pp. 86–87, Table 42, pp. 96–97.

the transfer of these boys to the disciplinary school. Boys who fail to attend school regularly can hardly be expected to keep up with the work of the grade, consequently, they fail to secure promotion and naturally become retarded. Other factors, such as illness and lack of intelligence also serve as causes of retardation. Nevertheless, there seems to be considerable justification for the assumption that a modified curriculum, determined by scientific study of the needs and abilities of these boys, would alleviate the situation by reducing the amount of retardation and at the same time equip the boys for a useful and serviceable piece of work when they leave school. Slawson[14] has pointed out that while the delinquent boy is deficient to a considerable degree

[14] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 191–192.

in the verbal abstract intelligence that characterizes most of the school work of the elementary grades, he is less deficient in nonverbal concrete intelligence and in mechanical aptitudes. The results of Slawson's investigations indicate possible lines of approach for the determination of the type of activities that should constitute a curriculum for these boys. Snedden in his study of American juvenile reform schools, is of the opinion that boys sent to these institutions make fairly rapid progress in the literary department "when they come under conditions of good physical nurture, persistent and wholesome discipline, and enforced systematic study."[15]

Tables IX and X serve to make more emphatic the retardation of the groups included in the study. It becomes evident from an examination of the figures that the inability of the pupils to keep up with the work of the regular grades was not of sudden origin. As far back as the kindergarten and first grade these boys began to repeat grades.

Disregarding the boys who spent time in the backward classes, in parochial schools, or in schools and institutions unaccounted for, as well as those who spend ten months or less in the regular grades, there is an appalling loss of time due to repetition of grades. Among the white boys it amounts to well over four hundred pupil-terms of five months, or more than the normal length of the elementary school life of over twenty-five children. For the negro boys it represents more than the average elementary school life of over nine children. The most obvious means of eliminating this rather large amount of repetition of grades seems to lie in an adjustment of the curriculum to more nearly accord with the abilities and interests of this particular type of boy.

6. *Age and Race*

Examination of Figure 3 indicates that for the year 1926–1927 more negro boys were admitted to the disciplinary school than

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[15] Snedden, David S. *Administration and Educational Work of American Juvenile Reform Schools.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 12, 1907, p. 57.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF MONTHS SPENT IN EACH GRADE BY 279 WHITE BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

Computed as of Time of Admission

NO. MONTHS (SCHOOL TERM—5 MOS.)	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	OB	TOTAL NO. CASES
1– 5	16	13	20	18	23	25	23	7	5	2	152
6–10	8	10	62	76	92	90	79	52	22	3	494
11–15	4	36	49	63	61	40	18	9	3	4	287
16–20	3	32	26	20	22	20	7	3		5	138
21–25	1	16	12	7	7	5	1			5	54
26–30		10	2	2	2	2	1			3	22
31 or more		2	5	1	1					6	15
Parochial		54	48	38	23	14	8	2			187
*		48	36	23	9	6	4	2			128

* Includes time spent out of town, in institutions, in foreign countries, and in other than public schools not included above.

TABLE X

NUMBER OF MONTHS SPENT IN EACH GRADE BY 104 NEGRO BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927.

Computed as of Time of Admission

NO. MONTHS (SCHOOL TERM—5 MOS.)	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	OB	TOTAL NO. CASES
1– 5	8	4	5	7	8	9	7	2		4	54
6–10	6	25	26	32	27	22	6	2		2	148
11–15	4	20	26	17	10	7	5	1		3	93
16–20	2	14	11	5	5	4	1	2		4	48
21–25		9	6	7	5		1			3	31
26–30		2		1	1					1	5
31 or more		2	1	1						9	13
Parochial		3	3	2	1						9
*		21	17	9	6						53

* Includes time spent out of town, in institutions, in foreign countries, and in other than public schools not included above.

were dismissed; the reverse is true for the white boys. To what extent this is indicative of a greater tendency towards misbehavior among the negroes is dependent upon several factors, among them the comparatively small number of cases included in the study and the ratio of white and negro boys in the disciplinary school to the total of each group in the school population of the city at large. This last point will be referred to again.

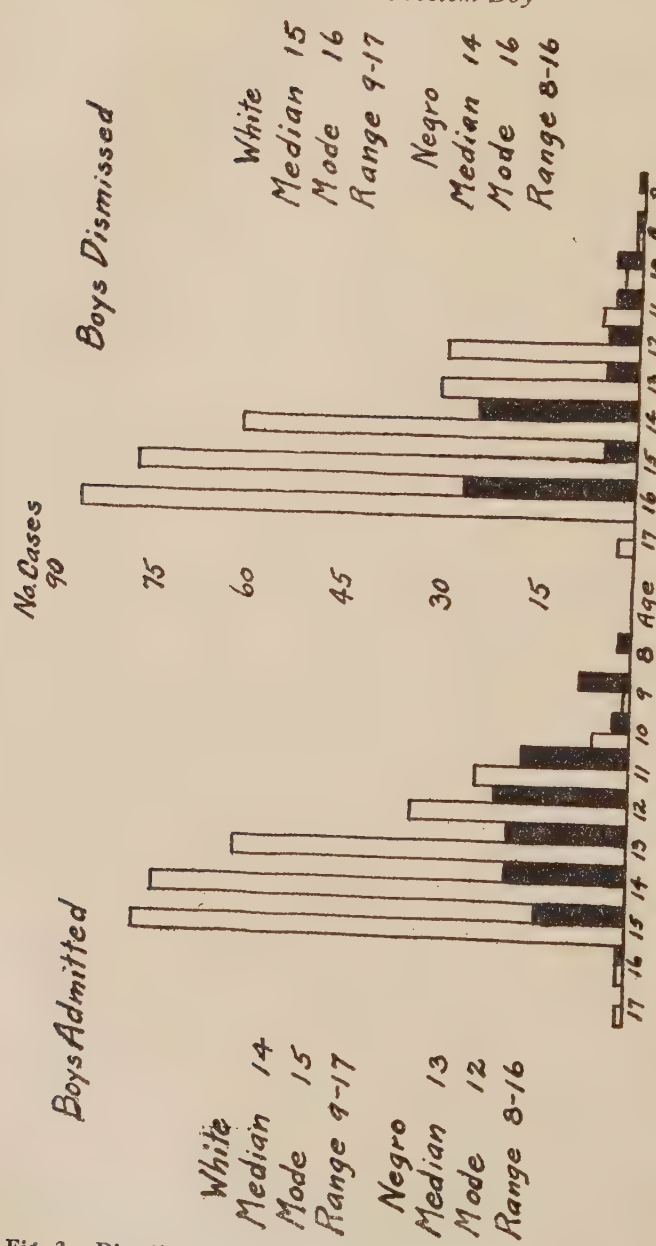

Fig. 3. Distribution by Age and Color of Boys Admitted or Dismissed from Lee School 1926-1927

The median age for the white boys admitted was fourteen; for the white boys dismissed, fifteen. The medians for the negro boys admitted and dismissed, were thirteen and fourteen respectively. These figures tend to indicate that the average length of time spent in the disciplinary school is approximately one school year. Further evidence on this point is submitted below. The mode for the two groups admitted, together with the median, suggest that the negro boys tend to be sent to the school at an earlier age than do the white boys.

The report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education of the Philadelphia Public Schools for the year ending June 30, 1926, indicates that there were 147,227 white boys enrolled in the schools and 12,751 colored boys. During the year 1926–1927 the disciplinary school admitted 279 white boys and 104 negro boys. A comparison in terms of percentage shows that 92.03 of the total male enrollment is white, and 7.97 is colored. For the Lee School the total admission of white boys for the year indicated was 72.85 per cent, and for the negro boys, 27.15 per cent. These figures lend further weight to the point suggested above, that there is evidence of a greater tendency among negro boys to become behavior problems than among white boys. If this proves to be true it lends emphasis to the need for considering the matter of curriculum adjustments in the educational training of a particular racial group.

Table XI shows the distribution by age and race for the pupils of the Lee School and for the city at large. From twelve years of age upwards the number of white boys in the disciplinary school is greater proportionately than the number for each age in the general school population. The number of negro boys from eleven years of age and upwards is, proportionately, in excess of the number in the school population at large.

7. *Nationality and Citizenship*

The extent to which we may expect delinquency and behavior problems among children of different national groups has received considerable attention at the hands of those interested in these children. Here, as elsewhere, opinions and conclusions

vary, although there is more or less accord that foreign groups present more problem cases than do the natives, and that certain foreign nationalities are more prone to misconduct than others. The extent to which the recurrence of certain nationalities among the delinquents may be attributed to the factor of nationality alone is not answered so readily.

TABLE XI

COMPARISON BY AGE AND COLOR OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL DURING 1926–1927 WITH BOYS IN SCHOOL POPULATION AT LARGE*

WHITE				AGE	COLORED			
SCHOOL		CITY			SCHOOL		CITY	
NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT		NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
		10327	7.01	6			1044	8.19
		14321	9.73	7			1282	10.05
		15813	10.74	8	2	1.92	1347	10.56
1	.36	16240	11.03	9	8	7.69	1382	10.84
6	2.15	15774	10.71	10	3	2.88	1318	10.34
24	8.60	16089	10.93	11	17	16.35	1350	10.59
34	12.19	16032	10.89	12	21	20.20	1333	10.45
61	21.86	15748	10.70	13	19	18.27	1334	10.46
74	26.52	14481	9.84	14	19	18.27	1254	9.84
77	27.60	12402	8.42	15	14	13.46	1107	8.68
1	.36			16	1	.96		
1	.36			17				
279	100.00	147227	100.00	Total	104	100.00	12751†	100.00

SUMMARY

	CITY		LEE SCHOOL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
White	147227	92.03	279	72.85
Colored	12751†	7.97	104	27.15
Total	159978	100.00	383	100.00

* Report of Bureau of Compulsory Education, Philadelphia Public Schools' for the year ending June 30, 1926. Table 70, p. 113.
† Includes 56 Mongolian boys.

Nativity of Boys.—In our present study the nativity of the boys was predominantly American. With a few scattering exceptions, the boys were born in this country. It may be noted that the

great majority of those who are foreign born came from Italy (Table XII).

TABLE XII

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF LEE SCHOOL BOYS ADMITTED OR DISMISSED 1926–1927

BOYS ADMITTED 1926–1927		COUNTRY OF BIRTH	BOYS DISMISSED 1926–1927	
WHITE	NEGRO		WHITE	NEGRO
261	102	United States	289	76
11		Italy	8	
2		Russia		
1		England	1	
1		Austria		
		Germany	1	
	1	West Indies	1	
	1	Central America		
1		Ukrania		
1		Armenia		
1		Poland		
		Not given		1
279	104	Total	300	77

Nativity of Parents.—Turning to the nativity of parents we find a different picture presented. More than twenty foreign countries are represented in the groups under discussion. This portion of the study includes the boys dismissed during the year 1926–1927 as well as those admitted during the same period (Table XIII). The nativity of the mothers of those dismissed was not included as the records regarding this point were incomplete. Among the foreign nationalities represented, Italy far exceeds any other for both groups of boys. The rank of the other nationalities varies in the two groups, with Russia, Ireland and Poland following Italy.

A more detailed presentation may be seen by reference to Table XIV, in which the nativity of the father for both white and negro boys is combined and compared with the figures for the entire school population. Here we find that the boys of native parents are proportionately less frequently found in the Lee School (Boone) than in the entire school population, while Italians, on the other hand, are almost twice as many as their

number in the school population warrants. Several other nationalities have more than their proportion of boys sent to the disciplinary school, although the variations are not so glaring nor are numbers represented in the study nearly so large as in the case of the boys of Italian parentage.

TABLE XIII

BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS OF BOYS ADMITTED OR DISMISSED FROM LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

BOYS ADMITTED 1926–1927				COUNTRY OF BIRTH	BOYS DISMISSED 1926–1927			
WHITE		NEGRO			WHITE		NEGRO	
Father	Mother	Father	Mother		Father	Mother	Father	Mother
84	90	91	96	United States	110		75	
98	89			Italy	114			
18	17			Russia	23			
22	22			Poland	12			
13	11			Ireland	9			
3	4			England	3			
3	5			Germany	4			
5	5			Hungary	4			
8	5			Austria	10			
7	8			Lithuania	1			
2				Czecho-Slovakia	1			
2	2			Ukrania	2			
1	1			Armenia				
1	3			Scotland	1			
1				Australia	1			
	1			Switzerland				
1				Newfound-land				
				France	1			
				Syria	1			
		1		Canada	1		1	
		3	3	West Indies	1			
		1	1	Central America				
10	16	8	4	Not Given	1		1	
279	279	104	104	Total	300		77	

Use of a Foreign Language in the Home.—In connection with the question of nationality naturally goes that of the use of a foreign language in the home. Table XV indicates that only a small proportion of the parents were unable to speak English sufficiently well to be understood. The data were secured

during an interview with the boys at the time of their admission to the school. This, as well as all the other data secured in the same manner, may not be entirely accurate but we feel that there was a sufficient check on the responses of the boys to insure results representative of existing conditions. Notwithstanding the fact that a great majority of the parents could use the English language to some extent, there seems to be a tendency, which is quite natural, to revert to the use of the mother tongue. This is evidenced by the fact that in 48.4 per cent of the homes of the white boys admitted, a foreign language was used.

TABLE XIV

COMPARISON OF NATIVITY OF FATHERS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 WITH ENTIRE CITY*

COUNTRY	CITY	LEE SCHOOL
United States	56.27	45.69
Russia	11.81	4.70
Ireland	3.92	3.40
Italy	13.02	25.59
Germany	2.16	.78
Poland	4.81	5.74
England	1.50	.78
Austria	1.91	2.09
Hungary	1.09	1.31
Scotland	.59	.26
Roumania	.54	
Norway, Sweden and Denmark	.30	
Lithuania	.71	1.83
Canada	.19	.26
Balkan Peninsula	.18	.52
Czecho-Slovakia	.17	.52
Miscellaneous	.83	6.53

* Report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education for year ending June 30, 1926. Table 73, page 116.

Comparative Data.—Bailey[16] in his study of the children brought before the Courts of New Haven, Connecticut, found that the foreign-born whites equaled 17.1 per cent of the total. This is more than three times as great as was found in the same classification of boys admitted to the Lee School during the

[16] Bailey, Wm. B. *Children Before the Courts in Connecticut.* U. S. Dept of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Publication No. 43, 1918, p. 73.

period covered by the study. The significance of the comparison of the two sets of statistics lies in the predominance of the native whites of foreign parentage (Table XVI). More than half the entire number included in Bailey's study were of foreign parentage.

TABLE XV

ABILITY OF PARENTS TO SPEAK ENGLISH—BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

	FATHER		MOTHER	
	WHITE	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO
Speak English	203	97	167	100
Do Not Speak English	25	1	66	1
Not Given	51	6	46	3
Total	279	104	279	104

If we carry the comparison a step further, we find that of the native white children of foreign parentage appearing before the City Courts of New Haven, 1914–1915, the Italians comprised 47.7 per cent, with the Irish, Russians and Germans following with 28.9, 12.7 and 6.9 per cent respectively. Here, again, we find a recurrence of one nationality appearing in the first place among the delinquents. In his comparison of the foreign-born whites in the court and the number between ten and fourteen years of age in the general population, Bailey points out that the foreign born furnished 17 per cent of the cases as opposed to 12.6 per cent of the population. Worse than this, in Bailey's study, were the negroes who represent 2 per cent of the children of the ages given and 5.8 per cent of the delinquents. As shown above, our figures are even more startling. The negroes represent but 7.97 per cent of the total elementary school enrollment, yet the number admitted to the Lee School during 1926–1927 represented 27.15 per cent of the entire group received during that period.

Elmer[17] found that among delinquent children of foreign parentage in St. Paul, Minnesota, and based on the nativity of

[17] Elmer, M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 30–31.

the father, the Italians were exceeded in number only by those of Polish and German parentage. He also points out that while 22 per cent of the population is foreign born, 48 per cent of the delinquents have foreign-born parents.

TABLE XVI

NATIVITY OF PARENTS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 COMPARED WITH DATA PRESENTED BY BAILEY* IN HIS STUDY OF CHILDREN BEFORE THE COURTS IN CONNECTICUT

AFTER BAILEY		NATIVE WHITE	PUPILS IN LEE SCHOOL	
NO.	PER CENT		NO.	PER CENT
157	22.7	Native Parents	84	21.9
377	54.5	Foreign or Mixed	177	46.2
118	17.1	Foreign-Born Whites	18	4.7
40	5.8	Negro	104	27.2
692	100.0†	Total	383	100.0

* Bailey, Wm. B. *Children Before the Courts in Connecticut.* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Publication No. 43, 1918. p. 73.

† As given by Bailey in the reference noted.

Slawson tells much the same story as regards the prevalence of both foreign born and negroes among the delinquents. He says, "There are 1½ times as many foreign-born boys, and 3½ times as many Colored boys in our group as there are in the unselected population."[18]

Citizenship.—The data concerning citizenship is inconclusive. The great majority of the parents of the colored boys are, quite naturally, citizens by virtue of birth in this country. More than fifty per cent of the parents of the white boys are citizens either by birth or naturalization. Considerable difficulty was experienced in securing the data, as many of the boys were unaware of the status of their parents in this regard, and it frequently was necessary to arrange for a second interview to give the boys an opportunity to secure the information from their homes.

If we deduct from the total of 333 citizens (male and female whites) those who were born in this country we have remaining

[18] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger 1926, p. 86.

159 foreign born who have been naturalized, as opposed to 97 whom we definitely know have not secured their citizenship papers. Disregarding those on whom we have no data, these figures show that 62.1 per cent of the foreign born whose status is known are citizens. The census figures for 1920 show that 47.7 per cent of the foreign-born white, male and female, in Philadelphia were naturalized (Table XVII).

TABLE XVII

CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF PARENTS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926-1927

STATUS	FATHER			MOTHER		
	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Citizen	168	92	260	165	96	261
Not Naturalized	47	1	48	50	1	51
Not Given	64	11	75	64	7	71
Total	279	104	383	279	104	383

Summary.—The general consensus of the data submitted is to the effect that certain races and nationalities furnish more than their proportionate share of delinquents. The conclusion is not to be drawn, however, that nationality, in and of itself, is the factor of causation. Likewise, the use of a foreign language, which is frequently associated with foreign nationalities, cannot be seized upon as the cause of delinquency. We must look behind these associated factors to determine the real effective factors in creating behavior problems. This would seem to indicate that certain races and nationalities lack the ability to make the necessary adjustments to American life and institutions. Some national groups come to America with firmly fixed political, religious and social ideas. It is but natural that they will tend to cling to the habits of thought and action, the traditions and culture that have been their inheritance, and also to transmit these, in part at least, to their children. On the other hand the children come under another and entirely different set of influences as represented by the school. In only relatively few instances do these same influences reach the parents. Hence we have the beginning of a conflict, the result of which is not

infrequently a breach between the parents and the children, resulting in lying, deceit and other delinquencies on the part of the children, together with an almost complete loss of parental authority.

If these statements are accepted as representing the facts in the case, the implication follows that if society is to profit by a reduction in the amount of delinquency it will be necessary during the very early years of the lives of the children in these groups, nay, even with the parents, to build up a set of ideals and practices that will hasten the process of assimilation. The present procedure of permitting each succeeding generation of residence in this country to reduce gradually the ratio of delinquency is extremely wasteful.

8. *Religious Affiliations*

The classification of religious affiliation was confined to the three sects most important locally, namely, the Catholic, Protestant and Jew. Table XVIII shows the distribution for each sect for boys, fathers and mothers. Among the white boys the Catholics predominate, equalling more than 60 per cent each for the boy and his parents. The Protestants rank second, and the Jews represent but one-twentieth of the total. No attempt was made to classify those boys who were not interviewed by using names as suggestive of their affiliations.

The proportions change for the negro boys, the Protestants ranking first, with a small number of Catholics completing the group. We do not know the exact proportion represented by each religion in the city or in the school population, hence no comparison can be made in this respect. Even were such figures available, care would have to be exercised to prevent the drawing of unwarranted conclusions. For example, the preponderance of Catholics among the white boys does not warrant the conclusion that that religious group is more prone to delinquency than the others. It is necessary to search behind the data for the real cause. This leads back to the data regarding nationality. As was shown above, the dominant national group is Italian. This race is predominantly Catholic, hence we have one reason for the high figures that obtain.

Most important, from the standpoint of the causation of delinquency, is a study of the variations of the figures for each religious group as regards the boy and his parents. It will be noted that only among the Jews are the figures alike. In the other two sects there are frequent intermarriages of people of different faiths. The extent to which conflicts arise among such marriages and the influence such conflicts may have on the creation of behavior problems among the children of such parents is at least worthy of consideration as a possible determining factor.

TABLE XVIII

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS—BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

RELIGION	WHITE			NEGRO		
	BOY	FATHER	MOTHER	BOY	FATHER	MOTHER
Catholic						
No.	178	170	172	8	6	6
Per Cent	63.8	60.9	61.6	7.7	5.8	5.8
Protestant						
No.	60	60	58	90	83	88
Per Cent	21.5	21.5	20.8	86.5	79.8	84.6
Jewish						
No.	14	14	14			
Per Cent	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Not Given						
No.	27	35	35	6	15	10
Per Cent	9.7	12.6	12.6	5.8	14.4	9.6
Total						
No.	279	279	279	104	104	104
Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

9. *Family Organization*

A consideration of family organization and marital relations of parents of delinquents and behavior-problem children almost invariably results in the presentation of data showing a preponderance of abnormal conditions. The number of homes in which the organization is complete as regards the boy and his parents is surprisingly low. A complete organization implies a home wherein the father and mother live together with their children and may be illustrated by Cases Three, Four, Six and Nine (Appendix H). Table XIX shows that but 60.9 per cent

of the white and 49.0 per cent of the negro homes are complete organizations. In all the others some abnormal condition exists. One of the parents has died, deserted or been divorced; sometimes a step-parent has been brought in to take the place of the missing one, or the child is boarded out as a consequence of the death of one or both parents, because of disagreements between parents, or for some other reason.

The relative frequency of the several causes that enter into the creation of abnormal home organizations may be briefly stated. Deaths rank highest, taking a toll of 14.3 per cent of the fathers and 11.1 per cent of the mothers of the white boys entering the Lee School during 1926–1927. Among the negro parents, 26.9 per cent of the fathers and 11.5 per cent of the mothers have been claimed by death. Separations occurred among 3.9 per cent of the white parents and 8.7 per cent of the negroes. Divorce was found to be relatively rare, the percentages being 1.1 and 2.9 respectively for the white and negro parents.

TABLE XIX

FAMILY ORGANIZATION OF HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

BOY LIVES WITH	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
Father and Mother	170	60.9	51	49.0	221	57.7
Father	18	6.5	4	3.9	22	5.8
Mother	34	12.2	20	19.2	54	14.1
Father and Stepmother	10	3.6	3	2.9	13	3.4
Mother and Stepfather	13	4.7	5	4.8	18	4.7
Relatives	7	2.5	15	14.4	22	5.7
Friends	1	.3			1	.3
Not Given	26	9.3	6	5.8	32	8.3
Total	279	100.0	104	100.0	383	100.0

Elmer[19] gives comparable statistics for 460 cases. In making the comparison (Table XX) the figures for both racial groups in the Lee School were combined. In only a few respects do the

[19] Elmer, M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St. Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 17.

figures show any marked variations. The significant fact presented is the low percentage of homes wherein there is a complete family organization. A somewhat similar condition was found by Thurston[20] in his study of delinquency in the city of Cleveland. He found the percentage of families of normal organization to be higher than in the two other studies given (Table XX).

Hiatt,[21] in his study of one hundred truants in the Philadelphia schools, found that twenty-five had no father in the home and eleven were motherless.

TABLE XX

FAMILY ORGANIZATION OF HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 COMPARED WITH DATA PRESENTED BY ELMER* IN HIS STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN ST. PAUL AND BY THURSTON† IN HIS REPORT FOR THE CLEVELAND FOUNDATION

BOY LIVES WITH	ST. PAUL STUDY	LEE SCHOOL	CLEVELAND STUDY
Parents	54.0	57.7	73.7
Mother only	10.0	14.1	16.8
Father only	5.5	5.7	1.1
Mother and Stepfather	12.0	4.7	4.2
Father and Stepmother	3.5	3.4	2.1
Relatives	6.0	5.7	
Foster Parents, Friends, etc.	8.5	.3	2.1
Not Given		8.4	
Total	99.5	100.0	100.0

* Elmer, M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St. Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 17.

† Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918, p. 183–186.

Other investigators present similar proportions of abnormal marital relations of parents. Slawson[22] found that 45.2 per cent of his cases came from such homes as opposed to only 19.3 per cent of abnormal marital relations in the homes of children in the public schools of New York City. Breckenridge and

[20] Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918, p. 108–109.

[21] Hiatt, James S. *The Truant Problem and the Parental School.* U. S. Bureau of Education. Bulletin No. 29, 1915. Washington, D. C., p. 17.

[22] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 359.

Abbott[23] found 43.3 per cent of their 584 cases came from homes where parental relations were abnormal. Burt[24] found the ratio of broken homes among delinquent boys as among non-delinquents to be 4 to 1, that is, broken homes furnish four times as many delinquents as normal homes.

It is fairly evident from the figures presented above that there exists a very marked preponderance of abnormal family organizations and marital relations among the parents of delinquents and problem cases. This being so, the implication follows that an effective step toward the prevention of delinquency could be taken by constructive efforts to overcome the deleterious effects of the destruction of the normal organization of the home.

TABLE XXI

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

NO. CHILDREN	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
1	5	1.8	13	12.5	18	4.7
2	18	6.4	19	18.2	37	9.7
3	37	13.3	17	16.3	54	14.1
4	39	14.0	8	7.7	47	12.3
5	49	17.6	11	10.6	60	15.7
6	29	10.4	7	6.7	36	9.4
7	30	10.8	6	5.8	36	9.4
8	25	9.0	7	6.7	32	8.3
9	12	4.3	5	4.8	17	4.4
10	5	1.8	2	1.9	7	1.8
11	2	.7	1	1.0	3	.8
12	1	.3	1	1.0	2	.5
13			1	1.0	1	.3
14						
15	1	.3			1	.3
Not Given	26	9.3	6	5.8	32	8.3
Total	279	100.0	104	100.0	383	100.0
Median	5		4		5	
Mode	5		2		5	
Range	1–15		1–13		1–15	

[23] Breckenridge S. P. and Abbott, Edith. *The Delinquent Child and the Home.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, p. 92.

[24] Burt, Cyril. *The Young Delinquent.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 578.

10. *Size of Family and Rank of Boy*

Size of Family.—While some writers say that the oldest child in the family is more apt to be delinquent than succeeding children in the same family, others take a diametrically opposite point of view and claim that the youngest child more often develops behavior problem tendencies. Another contention is that the only child is frequently disposed toward anti-social behavior. The contention is also held that the larger the size of the family the more prone are the members toward delinquency.

Our own figures (Table XXI and Figure 4) for the size of families show a range from one to fifteen children for the whites and one to thirteen for the negroes. The medians for the white and negro families are, respectively, five and four.

Slawson[25] gives the distribution of the number of children in families of delinquent boys in three institutions combined, the

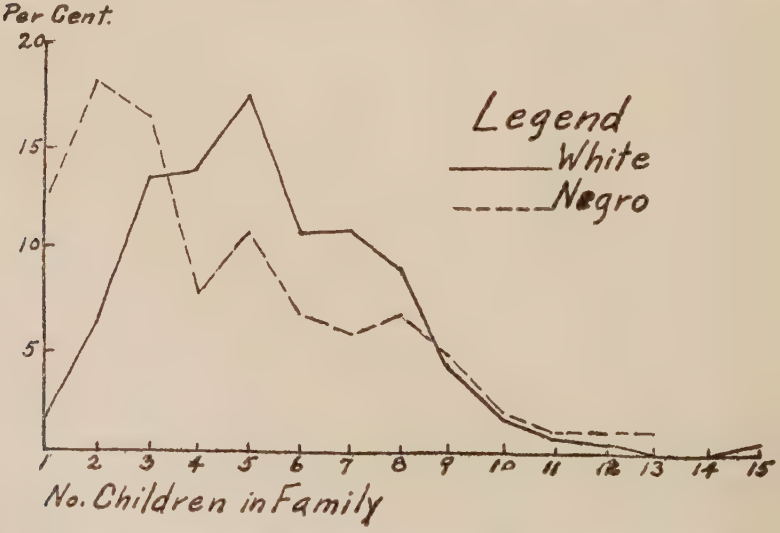

Fig. 4. Percentage Distribution of Size of Families of Boys Admitted to Lee School, 1926-1927

[25] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 400.

New York House of Refuge, State Agricultural and Industrial School, and the Hawthorne School. Throwing our results into a comparable form we may compare the two sets of figures (Table XXII and Figure 5). There is a considerable similarity between the two groups, the correlation being .88. Slawson, as well as Healy and Bronner,[26] conclude that there is a slight positive correlation between size of family and delinquency. In both studies, the bigger the family the greater the number of cases of delinquency. In drawing conclusions on this point it will be well to bear in mind that certain other influences may have an effect, namely, parental neglect, the social status of the family, the density of population where the child lives, the influence of unfavorable environmental conditions, foreign homes, the influence of one child in the family on another, as well as the factor of nationality.

TABLE XXII

SIZE OF FAMILIES OF WHITE BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 COMPARED WITH DATA PRESENTED BY SLAWSON* IN HIS STUDY OF THE DELINQUENT BOY

NO. CHILDREN	AFTER SLAWSON		LEE SCHOOL (WHITE)	
	NO. FAMILIES	PER CENT	NO. FAMILIES	PER CENT
1	69	4.5	5	2.0
2	115	7.6	18	7.1
3	171	11.2	37	14.6
4	216	14.2	39	15.4
5	293	19.2	49	19.4
6	227	14.9	29	11.5
7	191	12.5	30	11.9
8	130	8.5	25	9.9
9	60	4.0	12	4.7
10 or more	50	3.4	9	3.5
Total.....	1522	100.0	253	100.0
Average.....5.23			5.31	

* Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 400.

In line with the apparent tendency for more than one child

[26] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 105.

in the family to present delinquent tendencies, we may point out that in forty-one of the families of the white boys, or in 14.7 per cent, siblings presented conduct problems. The same conditions held for eleven, or 10.6 per cent of the families of the negroes.

Rank of Boy in Family.—Breckenridge and Abbott[27] have also stated that in a large proportion of the court cases in Chicago the child is eldest of a large family. Table XXI shows that 1.8 per cent of the white boys and 12.5 per cent of the negroes were the only children in the family. The small number of cases should be especially borne in mind when interpreting these particular data.

Healy and Bronner[28] found that only 10 per cent of three

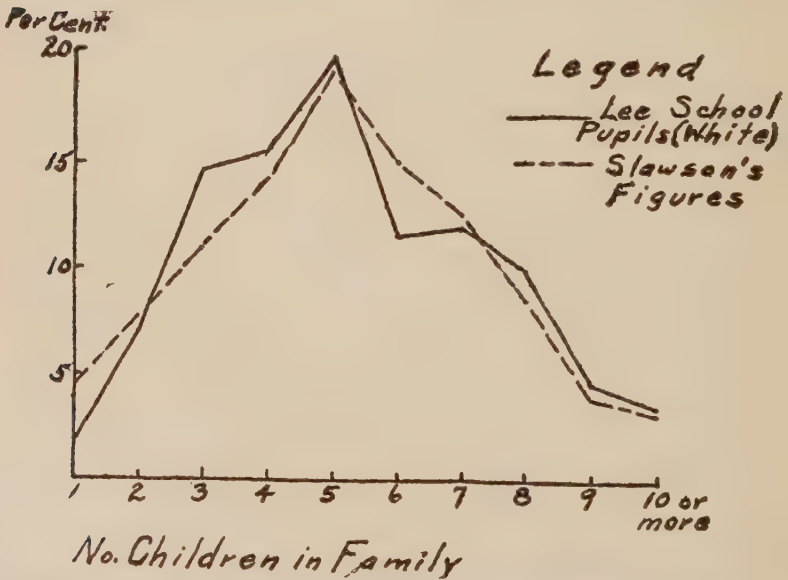

Fig. 5. Percentage Distribution of Size of 253 Families of White Boys Admitted to Lee School, 1926-1927 and 1522 Families Studied by Slawson

[27] Breckenridge, S. P. and Abbott, Edith. *The Delinquent Child and the Home.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922, p. 117.

[28] Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta F. *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 103.

thousand cases of delinquency were instances of only one child in a family, and concluded that this was not an unduly large proportion. In view of this fact, the small proportion of white boys who are only children becomes increasingly insignificant and even the 12.5 per cent for the negro boys is not greatly in excess of the proportions mentioned (Table XXI).

Among the white boys included in this portion of the present study 16.5 per cent were the eldest of those living, while 28.9 per cent of the negro boys were first-born among the children in their families (Table XXIII).

Also forty-seven, or 16.8 per cent of the white boys and twenty-three, or 12.1 per cent of the negroes were the youngest in their respective families. These figures do not include the only children, who by virture of their isolation are both oldest and youngest.

11. *Home Conditions and Environment*

Rating of Home and Neighborhood.—No study of any group of children is complete without a knowledge of the home. Yet this type of data lends itself least to statistical representation

TABLE XXIII

RANK IN FAMILY OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

RANK	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
1	46	16.5	30	28.9	76	19.8
2	63	22.6	27	26.0	90	23.5
3	51	18.3	17	16.3	68	17.8
4	33	11.9	10	9.6	43	11.2
5	31	11.1	1	1.0	32	8.3
6	12	4.3	4	3.8	16	4.2
7	11	4.0	5	4.8	16	4.2
8	3	1.1	4	3.8	7	1.8
9	1	.3			1	.3
10	1	.3			1	.3
11	1	.3			1	.3
Not Given	26	9.3	6	5.8	32	8.3
Total	279	100.0	104	100.0	383	100.0
Median	3		2		3	
Mode	2		1		2	

whereby an adequate picture may be drawn of existing conditions. In addition to the data secured during a personal interview with the boys an attempt was made to secure a rating of the home and neighborhood. Time limitations made it impossible to secure more than a very limited number of such ratings, only the first 103 boys admitted during the year being included. In all cases the Whittier Scale for Grading Home Conditions and the Whittier Scale for Grading Neighborhoods were employed. All the rating was done by one individual in compliance with the suggestions set forth in "A Guide to the Grading of Homes", "A Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions", and "Whittier Social Case History Manual".

The directions for rating homes and neighborhoods may be secured by reference to these studies. Suffice to say that the total index for home and neighborhood is twenty-five in each case. The higher the index the better the quality of home or neighborhood. For non-delinquents the Whittier study of homes found an index of twenty-two. These homes were not, however, average homes and, consequently, do not represent homes among the population at large. In explanation of what the home indices represent, the study states:

> Homes grading above 20 points are favorable, within a reasonable interpretation of the term; . . . most homes grading below 10 points are of a very low social level; . . . the average western home is likely to fall between 10 and 20, perhaps nearer the higher of these two scores.[29]

The distribution of the home indices for the white and negro boys in this study is shown in Table XXIV. The range of the former is from eight to seventeen, and for the latter from nine to twenty. The scores for the negro boys have a slightly greater and higher range than do the scores for the white boys, although the median for the homes of the negroes is only eleven as compared with fourteen for the white boys.

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[29] Williams, J. Harold. *A Guide to the Grading of Homes.* Whittier State School, Whittier, California: Department of Research, Bulletin No. 7, 1918, p. 13.

The distribution of the neighborhood indices (Table XXV) for the two groups have the same range, the median is thirteen for the negro boys and one point lower for the white boys.

Combining the home and neighborhood rating for both groups as shown in Tables XXIV and XXV, we secure a range from eight to twenty for the home indices and a range from nine to nineteen for the neighborhood indices. The median for the former is fourteen, and for the latter thirteen. In the studies mentioned above, the average index for home conditions was found to be seventeen, and for neighborhood conditions sixteen. The averages for the present study are thirteen for both ratings. The number of cases in the California studies was 135 while in the present study 103 homes and neighborhoods were rated.

Williams, in "A Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions"[30] gives the following distribution of neighborhood indices for 135 delinquent boys:

INDEX		CASES
6		1
8		1
9		6
10		4
11		3
13		15
14		15
15		18
16	(median)	17
17		8
18		9
19		13
20		9
21		7
22		5
23		3
24		1

[30] Williams, J. Harold. *A Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions.* Whittier State School, Whittier, California: Department of Research, Bulletin No. 5, 1917, p. 10.

TABLE XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF HOME INDICES OF RANDOM GROUP OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

INDEX	WHITE BOYS	NEGRO BOYS	TOTAL
8	1		1
9		4	4
10	6	1	7
11	8	6	14
12	9	2	11
13	9	4	13
14	13	1	14
15	13	4	17
16	12	2	14
17	3	2	5
18		1	1
19		1	1
20		1	1
Total	74	29	103
Average	14	13	13
Median	14	13	14
Mode	14–15	11	15
Range	8–17	9–20	8–20

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD INDICES OF RANDOM GROUP OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

INDEX	WHITE BOYS	NEGRO BOYS	TOTAL
9	1	2	3
10	1	3	4
11	8	7	15
12	8	2	10
13	18	7	25
14	14		14
15	14	2	16
16	6	1	7
17	3	3	6
18			
19	1	2	3
Total	74	29	103
Average	13	12	13
Median	14	13	13
Mode	13	11, 13	13
Range	9–19	9–19	9–19

A greater range and a higher median were found in the Whittier study than in the present one. Since both scales were made on the basis of a study of western homes it may be possible that they do not measure conditions in the east so accurately as they do conditions found in the section of the country for which they were designed.

The wide range and the frequency of distribution as shown for the homes and neighborhoods of the boys in the present study, as well as those shown for the neighborhoods of the delinquent boys in the western part of the country, serve to indicate that there is no special type of home or neighborhood that may be associated with delinquency and the creation of conduct problems. Williams, in his study of neighborhood conditions has expressed the same conclusion. He says:

> No "type" of neighborhood can be defined which occurs with sufficient frequency as to be considered representative of conditions which are supposed to cause or to be particularly associated with delinquency.[31]

Reference to Figures 6, 7, 8 serve further to emphasize the absence of any particular type of locality as the source from which behavior-problem cases are drawn. Practically every section of the city is represented, with larger numbers of cases coming from those sections where the density of population is greatest.

The relative distribution of the home indices and the neighborhood indices is shown in Figures 9 and 10. Each dot represents one home. The position on the vertical scale represents the home index (H. I.) and the position on the horizontal scale represents the neighborhood index (N. I.). The diagonal indicates where both home and neighborhood indices are identical. The closer the dot is to the diagonal the nearer is the resemblance of the two indices. Dots above the diagonal indicate that the homes grade higher than the neighborhood. Dots below the line indicate that the N. I. is higher than the H. I.

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[31] Williams, J. Harold. *A Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions.* Whittier State School, Whittier, California: Department of Research, Bulletin No. 5, 1917, p. 9.

Figure 9 shows the correlation of the indices for the seventy-four white boys. There is a slight tendency for the homes to grade lower than the neighborhoods in which they are located. The reverse is true for the twenty-nine negro homes (Figure 10). They have a greater tendency to grade higher than the neighborhoods. If we combine the two figures we find that there is only a very slight tendency in favor of the homes grading higher than the neighborhoods. This is contrary to the findings of the Whittier study[32] which showed that the home indices of 135

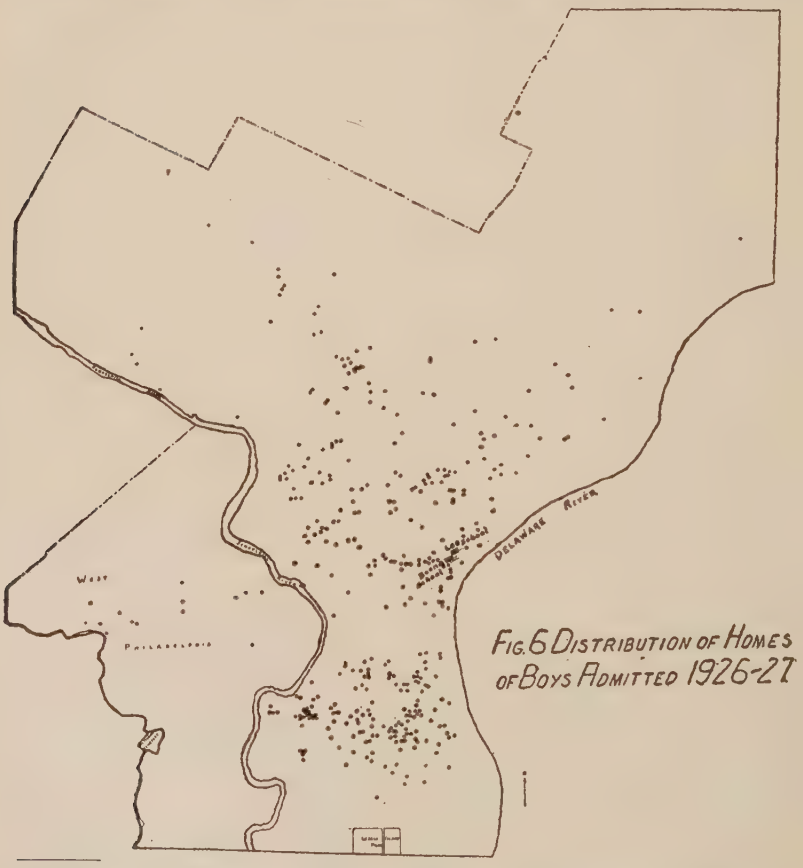

FIG. 6 DISTRIBUTION OF HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED 1926-27

[32] Williams, J. Harold. *A Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions.* Whittier State School, Whittier, California: Department of Research, Bulletin No. 5, 1917, p. 16.

delinquent boys are, on the average, lower than the neighborhoods in which the homes are located.

FIG. 7 DISTRIBUTION OF HOMES OF BOYS DISMISSED 1920-21

As a further step towards securing a more complete picture of the disciplinary boy a "spot map" has been prepared showing the locations of the homes of the boys admitted during the year 1926–1927 (Fig. 6). This map serves to show the distribution of the homes throughout the city of Philadelphia and to indicate the sections that furnish the greatest number of boys. The portion of the city south of the school and extending almost to the lower limits of the city furnishes more boys than the other

sections. The lower portion of the city is populated largely by foreigners and negroes, with the exception of certain small areas.

Similar maps (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8) have been prepared for the boys dismissed from the Lee School during 1920–1921 and 1921–1922. The same tendency is noted in all three maps, that is, the same sections of the city furnish the greater proportion of cases. It may be argued that distance is a factor in sending these boys to the school. That may be true to a certain extent, dependent upon the policy adopted by the superintendents of the districts lying at a distance from the school who may be sending

FIG 8 DISTRIBUTION OF HOMES OF BOYS DISMISSED 1921-22

only the extreme cases to the disciplinary center. If this were the case we would expect those cases that do come from the outlying sections to be especially pronounced in their non-behavior tendencies. An investigation of those cases does not lead to any such conclusion. On the contrary, the worst cases usually come from the sections that furnish the greatest number of cases. It should also be stated that there are several isolated classes for disciplinary boys located in some of these distant districts. The total number of such classes was fourteen at the time of the study.

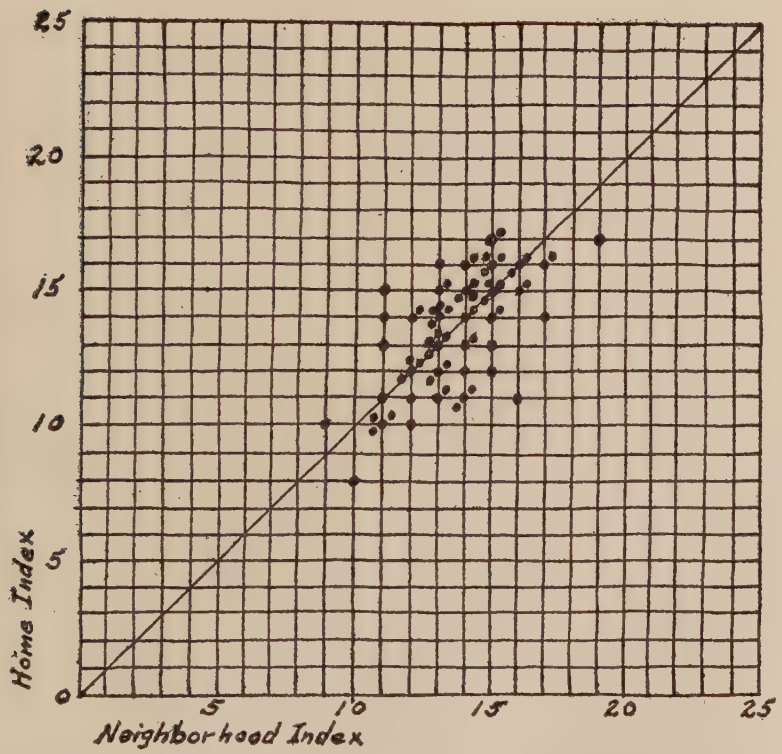

Fig. 9. H. I. and N. I. Correlations—74 White Homes—Boys Admitted to Lee School, 1926-1927

Overcrowding.—More detailed information regarding certain phases of home conditions was secured from each boy at the time of his admission to supplement the data secured by means of the Whittier Scales.

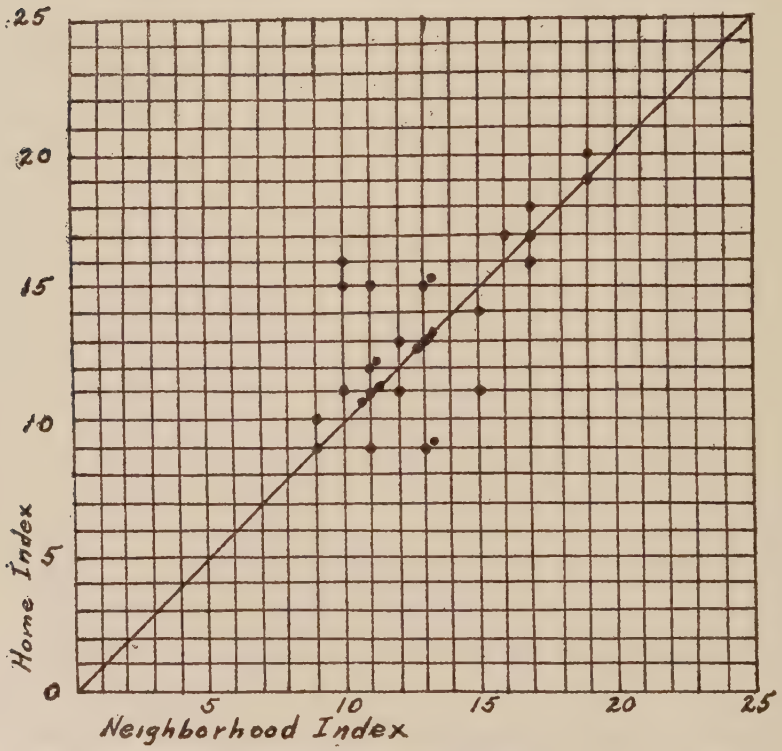

Fig. 10. H. and I. and N. I. Correlations—29 Negro Homes—Boys Admitted to Lee School, 1926-1927

Tables XXVI and XXVII compare the number of persons in the homes of the boys with the number of rooms. No consideration has been taken of the size of rooms. Nor was reference to size mentioned in any of the studies cited or mentioned for comparative purposes. Further, all children, regardless of age, are included in the total number of persons, each such child counting the same as an adult. Also, relatives and boarders are

TABLE XXVI

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOME COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOMES OF WHITE BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

NUMBER OF ROOMS	NUMBER OF PERSONS																TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1		3															3
2			1														1
3			1	5	4	3	1	1		1							16
4			5	4	10	6	2	4	6	2							39
5			1	8	6	8	10	4	2	5							44
6			2	5	11	15	23	11	8	7	3	1		1			87
7				2	3	2	5	4	5	3	3	1					28
8					1	3	2	2	6	2	3	1	1	1			22
9						3	1	1	1	3							9
10					1			1	1								3
11												1				1	2
Total		3	10	24	36	40	44	28	29	23	9	4	1	2		1	254

Not Given 25

TABLE XXVII

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOME COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOMES OF NEGRO BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

NUMBER OF ROOMS	NUMBER OF PERSONS																TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1		2															2
2		1	2	1		1			1								6
3			2	3	1		1	1	1	1							10
4		1	2	4		3					1						11
5			1	3	2	3	2	4	1	1	1						18
6			1	2	5	1	1	3	3	1	3	1					21
7			2		1	2	1	4			1						11
8					1	1		4	2	2			1				11
9								1	1	2		1					5
10							1				1	1					3
Total		4	10	13	10	11	6	17	9	7	7	3	1				98
Not Given																	6

counted in computing the number of persons in the home. The generally accepted standard of one and one-half persons per room, beyond which crowding is present, seems rather a low standard. In a six-room house, which usually contains three bedrooms, the application of this standard would permit nine persons to occupy the home, or an average of three to each bedroom, and still remain below the definition of overcrowded. A more reasonable standard it seems to the writer, and one that has been adopted for this study, is an average of one person per room. In a house of the size indicated above, an average of two persons per sleeping room would still be within the limits of non-crowding.

Having established a standard of overcrowding we find that of the 254 homes of white boys for whom this information is available, 167 or 65.8 per cent are overcrowded. Of the homes of the negro boys, 58 or 59.2 per cent of the 98 for which data were secured are overcrowded. It is significant that insofar as crowding, as represented by our criterion, is concerned, the negro boys are somewhat better off than the white boys. It must be remembered, however, that the number of cases is too small to warrant specific conclusions anent overcrowding.

Slawson[33] presents figures showing the number of rooms per person for over six hundred families. The data are in a form that does not permit of a strict comparison, hence is not offered here. The data may be interpreted as indicating that in only an insignificant number of cases is there one or more rooms per person in the homes of the boys at the Hawthorne School and at the New York House of Refuge. Dewy, Child and Ruml[34] show a range of number of persons per room from .4 to 5.6 for 588 families of children attending certain selected schools in New York City. In his conclusion regarding the number of rooms per person in the homes, Slawson says:

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[33] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 420.

[34] Dewey, Evelyn; Child, Emily and Ruml, Beardsley. *Methods and Results of Testing School Children.* New York; E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920, p. 146.

Our data bearing on the relation between room space in the home and juvenile delinquency are based on too few cases to warrant a definite statement. This relation becomes still more dubious when we take into consideration the influence that locality has upon room space in the home.[35]

Elmer[36] draws a conclusion regarding overcrowding that is in accord with that of several others. He made an intensive study of all the juvenile court cases in one area of the city of St. Paul and found that there was no more overcrowding among the homes of the delinquents than among the homes of the non-delinquents in the community. No criterion of overcrowding is presented in the study.

Using our own standard of overcrowding, we may interpret the statistics presented by Thurston[37] as given in Table XXVIII. Of the 95 homes included in the study, 57, or 60 per cent, represent conditions that are overcrowded. These figures are quite in accord with those found for the negro boys in the present study, and are five per cent lower than found to hold for the homes of the white boys.

Turning to Table XXIX we find the number of persons sleeping in each room. Infants and small children are each counted as one person. The tendency for both the white and negro families is for two persons to sleep in a room, as represented in 303 rooms among the white boys and 108 rooms among the negroes. The range in both races is from one person to seven per room. Three or more persons sleep in 265 of the 710 sleeping rooms used by white families, while the same conditions hold for 85 of the 279 sleeping rooms used by the negro families. Quite naturally, a definition of overcrowding would need be tempered by the size of the sleeping rooms. The results obtained by the use of the Whittier Scale would lead us to believe that the rooms are, on the whole, not sufficiently large to permit three or

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[35] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 450.

[36] Elmer M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St. Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 8.

[37] Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918, pp. 183–186.

TABLE XXVIII

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOME COMPARED WITH NUMBERS OF ROOMS IN HOMES OF BOYS STUDIED BY THURSTON*

NUMBER OF ROOMS	NUMBER OF PERSONS															TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1						1										1
2			1		1											2
3			2		4	1		1	1							9
4				3	5	5	8	1	4		2					28
5			2	2	5	1	3	1		1		1				16
6			1	2		7	2	2	1							15
7				1	1	2		3	2	1		1				11
8					1	2	2	1				1				7
9						1			1							2
10						1										1
11																0
12													1		1	2
13																0
14												1				1
Total			6	8	17	21	15	9	9	2	2	4	1		1	95

* Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918, pp. 183–186.

more persons to sleep in the same room with comfort. Aside from the matter of crowding, consideration of a lowered moral tone of a home should act as a deterrent to having so many persons occupy the same room, especially if they are not all of the same sex. In eleven instances, nine among the white and two among the negro homes, overcrowding forced the use of the bathroom for sleeping purposes.

TABLE XXIX

NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN EACH ROOM IN HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

RACE	NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
White	142	303	145	77	31	11	1
Negro	86	108	54	18	7	5	1
Total	228	411	199	95	38	16	2

Roomers or Boarders in the Homes.—The presence of relatives or strangers in a home may contribute toward the creation of behavior problems in several ways. With this fact in mind data were secured relative to these two points and are presented in Tables XXX and XXXI. In thirty-two of the white families there were present a total of eighty-nine boarders or roomers, and a total of ninety-two among thirty-three negro homes. The situation as regards the presence of relatives is much the same. Eighty-eight relatives were living with the families of forty-two of the white boys, and forty-five relatives among twenty-five negro families.

Normal home conditions tend to be disrupted by the introduction of people outside the immediate circle. They contribute to the production of overcrowded conditions, and also present an opportunity for the creation of conflicts among parents which may be reflected in the children, as well as creating conflicts among the children directly.

Thurston has presented some statistics that may be put into

a comparable form. In eighteen homes out of a total of ninety-five he found forty-seven lodgers, with as many as nine in one home (Table XXX-b).

On a percentage basis we find boarders and roomers present in 11.5 per cent of the white homes and in 31.7 per cent of the negro homes in the present study. Thurston's figures, 18.9 per cent, are higher than for our white boys, but considerably lower than for our negro boys. In the matter of relatives living with the family, the negroes again rank higher than the whites, thus showing a greater tendency in both respects towards a lack of homogeneity as regards family organization.

TABLE XXX (a)

ROOMERS OR BOARDERS IN HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	TOTAL	PER CENT
Frequency													
White....	12	6	8	1	1	1	1	1			1	32	11.5
Negro....	11	8	5	4	2		1	1	1			33	31.7
Total....	23	14	13	5	3	1	2	2	1		1	65	17.0

Total number boarders or roomers—white..... 89
Total number boarders or roomers—negro..... 92
Total number boarders or roomers—both groups..... 181

TABLE XXX (b)

LODGERS IN HOMES OF BOYS INCLUDED IN THURSTON'S STUDY OF DELINQUENCY AND SPARE TIME*

NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTAL	PER CENT
Frequency...	9	5		1		1		1		1	18	18.9

Total number of lodgers..... 47

* Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918, p. 183–186.

Sanitation.—Further evidence of the existence of abnormal home conditions is found in a study of the toilet facilities of the

TABLE XXXI

RELATIVES LIVING WITH FAMILIES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL	PER CENT
Frequency								
White	21	10	3	4	2	2	42	15.1
Negro	11	8	6				25	24.0
Total	32	18	9	4	2	2	67	17.5

Total number relatives—white	88
Total number relatives—negro	45
Total number relatives—both groups	133

homes of the boys. At least 17 per cent of the homes of the white boys and 32 per cent of the homes of the negroes are lacking a bathroom or a toilet and wash basin (Table XXXII). In this day of modern sanitation and plumbing the existence of such conditions as these figures suggest is startling, especially when found in a city as large as Philadelphia. They indicate that there still exist many homes built in an earlier period when such conveniences were not so common as they are today. Certain sections of the city are dotted with courts around which are built homes providing little more than four walls and a roof. In such homes as these, toilet facilities are community affairs, being placed in the center of the courts and accessible to the entire group. Not only are toilet facilities lacking in so many of the homes, but in 2.9 per cent and 7.7 per cent, respectively, of the homes of white and negro boys there is no running water (Table XXXIII). The household supply is secured from the community hydrant or faucet located in the court around which the homes are built. Living under such conditions, it is little to be wondered that boys will pass up their morning ablutions and gradually acquire a coat of dirt and grime that becomes almost a part of their bodies.

Summary.—The picture of the home conditions and environment as presented above is not a very attractive one. Although the ratings for both the homes and the neighborhoods have a

TABLE XXXII

BATHROOM FACILITIES IN HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

FACILITIES	NUMBER			PER CENT		
	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Present	200	61	261	71.7	58.6	68.1
Lacking	49	34	83	17.6	32.7	21.7
Not Given	30	9	39	10.7	8.7	10.2
Total	279	104	383	100.0	100.0	100.0

wide range, the medians indicate a tendency toward the poorer types of homes and neighborhoods. This is also to be noted in the ratings of the neighborhoods of the boys who were dropped from the school roll during 1920–1921, 1921–1922, as indicated in Section 16. Added to the type of home and neighborhood there is evidence of overcrowding due to the size of the family occupying the home or to the addition of relatives or boarders to the family to supplement the income of the home. The least encouraging aspect is the absence of sanitary facilities.

Boys accustomed to such conditions of living can hardly be expected to see things from the angle with which the more fortunate view the world at large. Resentment arises in the child when taken to task for conditions that seem perfectly natural to him, and antagonisms to school and society have their birth.

TABLE XXXIII

RUNNING WATER IN HOMES OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL, 1926–1927

RUNNING WATER	NUMBER			PER CENT		
	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Present	241	87	328	86.4	83.6	85.6
Lacking	8	8	16	2.9	7.7	4.2
Not Given	30	9	39	10.7	8.7	10.2
Total	279	104	383	100.0	100.0	100.0

12. *Economic Status of Parents*

A consideration of occupational status of the parents of the children shows that the great majority of the fathers are engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries (Table XXXIV). Within this classification the largest group is made up of laborers, the next largest being composed of semi-skilled operatives in various industries. Together these two groups represent more than 25 per cent of the parents of the children whose occupations are known. This number, added to other occupations of semi-skilled or non-skilled types under other classifications, indicates a prevalence of paternal occupations of an inferior type. Slawson[38] presents a similar picture for the parents of the delinquent boys whom he studied. About one-half the fathers were classified as unskilled workers.

An examination of the type of occupations in the different classifications indicates the almost complete absence of high-skilled occupations and professions among the fathers of the behavior-problem children (Table XXXIV).

TABLE XXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

OCCUPATION	SCHOOL		CITY (14TH CENSUS OF U.S. 1920)
	WHITE	NEGRO	
Manufacturing and Mechanical industries	**145**	**43**	**314,476**
Bakers	3	1	3,783
Blacksmiths	1	..	4,042
Boilermakers	2	..	2,457
Builders	3	1	1,540
Brick and stone masons	9	..	3,818
Cabinet makers	1	1	2,124
Carpenters	10	2	18,934
Coopers	3	..	794
Dyers	2	..	2,100
Laborers, building, general and not otherwise specified	50	31	11,675
Machinists, millwrights and tool makers	7	..	30,465
Mechanics, not otherwise specified	3	2	5,745
Molders, founders and casters (metal)	4	..	2,483
Painters, glaziers, varnishers, etc	5	2	8,251

[38] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger 1926, pp. 121–122.

TABLE XXXIV (*Continued*)

Occupation	School		City
	White	Negro	
Paper hangers	1	..	1,967
Plasterers and cement finishers	4	..	1,741
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	1	..	9,746
Roofers and slaters	3	..	1,281
Semi-skilled operatives			
Cigar and tobacco factories	1	2	1,367
Clay, glass and stone industries	1	..	1,106
Hat factories (felt)	3	..	3,011
Lumber and furniture industries	1	..	2,829
Paper and pulp mills	1	..	836
Printing and publishing	1	1	1,910
Tanneries	4	..	2,844
Woolen and worsted mills	3	..	2,600
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory)	7	..	2,546
Structural iron workers (buildings)	3	..	681
Tailors	7	..	9,755
Tinsmiths and sheet metal workers	1	..	2,546
Transportation	**20**	**9**	**60,763**
Chauffeurs	4	..	12,359
Draymen, teamsters and expressmen	7	5	9,408
Engineers	4	..	1,578
Firemen	1	1	1,221
Garage keepers and managers	1	..	604
Longshoremen and stevedores	1	2	4,036
Railroad conductors	1	..	1,151
Railroad flagmen	1	..	1,077
Sailors and deck hands	..	1	1,181
Trade	**17**	**3**	**90,355**
Proprietors, officials and managers	1	..	473
Real estate agents and officials	1	..	2,779
Retail dealers			
Butchers and meat dealers	3	..	3,925
Fruit	1	..	1,316
Hucksters and peddlers	4	..	1,469
Ice	2	3	516
Junk	1	..	938
Newsdealers	1	..	313
Salesmen	3	..	23,454
Public Service	**1**	..	**21,780**
Officials and inspectors (city)	1	..	927
Professional	..	**1**	**25,887**
Clergymen	..	1	1,748
Domestic and personal service	**6**	**3**	**31,235**
Barbers	3	..	4,569
Cooks	..	1	2,570
Janitors and sextons	..	2	3,221
Waiters	3	..	4,153
Clerical occupations	**1**	..	**54,738**
Shipping clerk	1	..	5,088
Not classified	**89**	**45**	....
Dead	40	28	....
Deserted	6	4	....
In feebleminded institutions	1	..	....
In foreign country	1	..	....
Invalid	2	..	....
Unemployed	1	1	....
Not given	38	12	....
Total	**279**	**104**	....

Turning to the occupational pursuits of the employed mother (Table XXXV) we find the same conditions. The classificatio including the greatest number of the parents is, as one migh expect, domestic and personal service. With few exceptions th mothers have no occupations higher than those of a semi-skille level.

Comparisons with the figures for the different occupation for the city at large present nothing conclusive. The number c cases is too few to warrant any valid conclusions being draw (Table XXXVI).

Table XXXV shows that only slightly over half of the mother

TABLE XXXV

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF MOTHERS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

OCCUPATION	SCHOOL		CITY (14TH CE SUS OF U. 1920)
	WHITE	NEGRO	
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	**25**	**4**	**74,220**
Dressmakers and seamstresses	13	1	6,455
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing)	1	..	1,561
Semi-skilled operatives			
Cigar and tobacco factories	..	1	2,698
Rope and cordage factories	1	..	361
Woolen and worsted mills	10	2	3,494
Trade	**4**	**1**	**20,224**
Retail dealer—cigars and tobacco	1	..	365
Saleswomen	3	1	10,536
Professional	..	**1**	**17,090**
Semi-professional pursuits—fortune tellers, etc	..	1	18
Domestic and personal service	**25**	**47**	**53,189**
Boarding and lodging-house keepers	1	..	2,436
Chambermaids	..	2	940
Charwomen and cleaners	11	36	1,576
Cooks	1	..	4,307
Hairdressers	..	2	1,249
Ladies' maids	..	1	224
Laundresses	3	4	4,612
Nurses (not trained)	3	1	2,737
Waitresses	6	1	3,609
Clerical occupatoins	**1**	..	**45,22**
Cashiers	1	..	10,54
Not classified	**66**	**24**	...
Dead	31	12	...
Invalid	..	1	...
Not given	35	11	...
Home making	**158**	**27**	...
Total	**279**	**104**	...

of the white boys and about one-fourth of the mothers of the negroes are primarily engaged in home making. The great majority of both groups have their time and attention taken by some gainful occupation. It need hardly be pointed out that boys who are without home supervision during the day, and especially during their leisure hours, have a greater opportunity to become delinquents than do boys with adequate supervision. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the absence of such care is a direct factor in the production of delinquent tendencies. In combination with other conditions favorable to the development of behavior problems, such a situation may serve as a contributing factor.

Slawson[39] concludes from the evidence he presents that there is only a very slight relationship, if any, between the occupational status of the mother and delinquency. He found that 23.4 per cent of the living mothers of the boys studied were engaged in gainful occupations, and that 18.2 per cent of the mothers of public school children of New York City were so engaged. Putting our own statistics into a comparable form by eliminating all not classified, we find that 25.8 per cent of the mothers of the white boys and 66.3 per cent of the negro mothers are engaged in gainful occupations. Combining the figures for both racial groups we have 36.9 per cent of the mothers employed. All of our figures are higher than those given by Slawson.

Bailey[40] presents figures quite in contrast with those above. He found 82 per cent of the families normal, that is, both parents living together and the mother not regularly employed outside the home.

Thurston's analysis of 95 cases of delinquent boys shows that 24 of the mothers were working. This represents slightly over 25 per cent, a condition better than that found in the present study, but not so good as that presented by Bailey.

The figures stated above may be compared with those secured

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[39] Slawson, John. *The Delinquent Boy.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926, p. 387.

[40] Bailey, Wm. B. *Children Before the Courts in Connecticut.* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C. Publication No. 43, 1918, p. 80.

TABLE XXXVI

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927 COMPARED WITH TOTAL PERSONS ENGAGED IN EACH SPECIFIED CLASSIFICATION FOR THE ENTIRE CITY

Total population, ten years of age and over—Male, 733,672; Female, 743,994.

All occupations, Male, 603,237; Female, 215,763.

OCCUPATION	MALE			
	SCHOOL		CITY (14TH CENSUS OF U.S. 1920)	
	NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	....	....	3,523	.6
Extraction of minerals	....	....	480	.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	188	49.1	314,476	52.1
Transportation	29	7.6	60,763	10.1
Trade	20	5.2	90,355	15.0
Public service	1	.3	21,780	3.6
Professional service	1	.3	25,887	4.3
Domestic and personal service	9	2.3	31,235	5.2
Clerical occupations	1	.3	54,738	9.0
Not classified	134	34.9	....	....
Total	383	100.0	733,672	100.0

OCCUPATION	FEMALE			
	SCHOOL		CITY (14TH CENSUS OF U. S. 1920)	
	NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	....	....	71	.0
Extraction of minerals	....	....	3	.0
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	29	7.5	74,220	34.4
Transportation	....	....	5,455	2.5
Trade	5	1.3	20,224	9.4
Public Service	....	....	288	.1
Professional Service	1	.3	17,090	7.9
Domestic and personal service	72	18.8	53,189	24.7
Clerical occupations	1	.3	45,223	21.0
Not classified	90	23.5	....	....
Home making	185	48.3	....	....
Total	383	100.0	743,994	100.0

by Cressman[41] in his survey of 15,167 children in fourteen schools in Philadelphia. Of this number, 7563 were boys, 6.2 per cent of whom were without day-time adult care. The study, by definition, did not include other children who were without adult care only a portion of the time. These figures tend to show that for the general school population there is less absence of maternal supervision during the day than is true of delinquent and behavior problem groups. Cressman further concludes that lack of day-time adult care is a factor in the production of unsatisfactory conduct but not a primary cause.

13. *Out-of-School Activities*

Much importance is attached to the activities of boys during their leisure hours. The hours spent in school are few, and, when added to the time occupied in sleep, leave a margin of about ten hours during which most boys are, for the most part, unsupervised. Thurston[42] emphasizes the importance of this period in the production of delinquent tendencies. The influence of spare time upon the creation of gangs and gang spirit and enterprises has been admirably presented by Thrasher.[43] Hoyt[44] and Furfey,[45] as well as Puffer,[46] have likewise expressed themselves regarding the influence of these unsupervised periods upon the creation of conduct disorders.

Attendance at Church and Sunday School.—An attempt was made during the progress of the study to determine through the

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[41] Cressman, Elmer W. *A Survey of the Effect of the Absence of Adult Daytime Care Upon the Work and Conduct of Public School Children.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1927.

[42] Thurston, Henry W. *Delinquency and Spare Time.* Cleveland: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1918.

[43] Thrasher, Frederic M. *The Gang—A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

[44] Hoyt, Franklin Chase. *Quicksands of Youth.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.

[45] Furfey, Paul Hanly. *The Gang Age.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926.

[46] Puffer, Joseph A. *The Boy and His Gang.* Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912.

medium of the interviews with the boys just what influences and habits were affecting the boys during their leisure hours. The boys' statements were accepted concerning their activities outside of school. It is felt that because of the attitude of the examiner during the interview and the friendly atmosphere that was created, together with checking on the responses by returning to the question when there seemed to be any doubt as to the validity of the response, the data may be accepted as being representative. Attendance at church and Sunday School and membership in the Boy Scouts organization were selected as criterions that might throw some light on the influences molding the lives of these boys. It was found that the negroes are more inclined to attend church and Sunday School than are the white boys (Table XXXVII). A good majority of both groups are more or less regular in attending church services, that is they attend more than 50 per cent of the time, while only 14.3 per cent of the white boys attend Sunday School as compared with 63.5 per cent of the negroes.

TABLE XXXVII

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH AND SUNDAY SCHOOL OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL 1926–1927

RACE	CHURCH		SUNDAY SCHOOL	
	NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
White	170	60.9	40	14.3
Negro	75	72.1	66	63.5
Total	245	64.0	106	27.7

Membership in Boy Scouts Organizations. The record for membership in the Boy Scouts is exceedingly low. Only ten white boys and eight negroes claimed affiliation with this organization. Bearing in mind that boys under twelve years of age are ineligible we find that 4.0 per cent of the whites and 10.8 per cent of the negroes come under the influence of this organization.

Smoking.—The presence of deleterious habits among many of the boys has been observed during the course of their stay at the school. The original plan was to secure data concerning the extent to which the boys had become accustomed to the use of tobacco and liquor. During the preliminary interviews it was discovered that raising the question of the use of intoxicants resulted in a mental barrier being erected between the boys and questioner. The net result was a hesitancy and avoidance in answering subsequent questions. Delaying the question to the end of the interview met with no better success. For this reason reference to the use of intoxicants was eliminated, although the question of smoking was raised and, it is believed, answered honestly.

One hundred seventy-two, or 61.6 per cent of the white boys admitted using tobacco to a considerable extent. The negroes seemed less prone to acquire the habit, only twenty-seven, or 26.0 per cent, stating that they had acquired the habit.

When we consider the youth of the boys, the figures, especially for the white boys, are high. Travis[47] has commented upon the passion that juvenile delinquents have for tobacco.

Occupational Activities.—During the second term the scope of the study was extended to include several additional items that might be of significance in indicating what these boys do during their spare hours. One hundred thirty-five white boys and fifty-five negro boys were included in the study during the second term and the percentages following are based on these numbers.

The extent to which the disciplinary boy is gainfully employed after school hours and on Saturdays, and the types of jobs held are shown in Table XXXVIII. The percentages for both groups of boys are in close accord, the figures for work on Saturday being, as might be expected, larger than for after-school work. No comparable statistics are at hand to determine whether this type of boy is more inclined to secure remunerative work than is the boy who is not rated as disciplinary.

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[47] Travis, Thomas. *The Young Malefactor.* New York. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1908, pp. 157–159.

TABLE XXXVIII

OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES DURING AFTER-SCHOOL HOURS AND ON SATURDAYS OF BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL DURING SECOND TERM 1926–1927

JOB	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	AFTER SCHOOL	SAT.	AFTER SCHOOL	SAT.	AFTER SCHOOL	SAT.
Ice Wagon	..	4	..	1	..	5
Wagon	..	1	..	..	..	1
Huckster	1	5	..	1	1	6
Milkman	..	2	..	..	..	2
Truck	..	1	1	..	1	1
Coal wagon	..	..	..	1	..	1
Caddy	1	3	..	..	1	3
Errands	2	2	1	3	3	5
Newsboy	5	4	2	2	7	6
Helps father in store	..	1	..	..	..	1
Barber	..	1	..	..	..	1
Butcher	2	2	..	1	2	3
Grocer	2	2	..	..	2	2
Shoemaker	..	2	..	..	..	2
Bootblack	2	1	1	3	3	4
Movies	1	1	..	..	1	1
Garage helper	2	2	..	..	2	2
Chores	1	1	2	2	3	3
Horse Bazaar	..	..	1	1	1	1
Steals coal from railroad and sells	..	1	..	..	..	1
Buss boy	..	..	1	..	1	..
Total	19	36	9	15	28	51
Per Cent	14.1	26.6	16.4	27.3	14.7	26.8

Recreational Pursuits.—The amount of influence wielded by various welfare organizations during the leisure time of behavior-problem boys may be indicated, in a measure, by the type of recreation pursued by the boys interviewed. Reference to Table XXXIX indicates that the vast majority of the 118 boys from whom data concerning this were secured spend their time hanging about the streets. The movies and card playing are the major interest of others. Only a small proportion of the interests of these boys can be said to be of a constructive nature, such as library, recreation center, church club.

In addition to securing the major activities of each boy during his leisure time, an attempt was made to determine the extent to which the lure of the movies had attracted the boys. It was found that 73 white boys and 33 negroes out of the respective totals of 118 and 49 were in the habit of attending picture shows more than three times per week. The figures for this type of recreation include the number of boys who have recourse to the pictures as their major type of diversion, and who cannot be said to have inclinations to spend their time on streets or in other types of activity represented in the list.

TABLE XXXIX

TYPE OF RECREATION PURSUED BY BOYS ADMITTED TO LEE SCHOOL DURING SECOND TERM 1926–1927

TYPE OF RECREATION	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Street	87	35	122
Movies	6	7	13
Cards	6	1	7
Pool parlor	2	..	2
Girl	1	1	2
Park	1	..	1
Auto	1	..	1
Railroad	1	..	1
Boxing	1	..	1
Horses	1	..	1
Library	3	..	3
"Y"	1	..	1
Boys' Club	1	1	2
Recreation Center	4	1	5
Church Club	2	..	2
Other Boys' Homes	..	1	1
Home	..	2	2
Total	118	49	167

Age of Playmates.—An attempt to secure data concerning the age of playmates of the boys entering the school during the second term of the year of the study showed nothing of value. With a single exception the boys had playmates of one sort or other. The significance of a study of this type would seem to

lie in the relation of the age of the playmates to the age of the individual. The boys of any given age were found to have companions of varying ages, in some cases older, in other cases younger, and in still other instances both older and younger.

Club and Gang Affiliations.—The same boys were questioned regarding membership in clubs and gang organizations. Fifteen white boys and five negroes claimed membership in clubs, not all of which had socially acceptable aims. On the other hand, fifty white boys and fourteen negroes had gang affiliations. This represents more than one-third of the white boys and one-fourth of the negroes who were admitted during the period covered by this portion of the study. Thrasher and others have pointed out the connection between leisure time and the development of gang activities. Thrasher holds that:

> The problem of dealing with a boy can be stated very largely in terms of his leisure hours. Ordinarily school and work, either at home or elsewhere, fill a large portion of his day. The period after school or work, vacations, and periods of unemployment—spare time—are the real problem.
>
> The most important agency in directing the spare-time activity of the boy is the family. In the under privileged classes, family life in a large number of cases—either through neglect, misdirection, or suppression—fails to provide for or control the leisure-time behavior of the adolescent. School, church and the recognized agencies of recreation, which might supplement this lack, are woefully inadequate to the need in gang areas. The boy with time on his hands, especially in a crowded or slum environment, is almost predestined to the life of the gang, which is simply a substitute, although a most satisfactory one from the boy's point of view, for activities and controls not otherwise provided.[48]

Musical Interests.—The extent to which interest in playing musical instruments occupies the time of these boys is indicated by the fact that only ten white and eight negro boys spend any time or have any interest along musical lines.

Summary.—Regardless of the angle from which we view the spare-time interests of these boys we invariably find that only a deplorably small number are engaged in useful and socially

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[48] Thrasher, Frederic M. *The Gang—A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 79.

acceptable activities. Even though a fairly large proportion of the boys attend church, the influence exerted by this institution does not seem to be a functioning one as far as behavior is concerned. The Boy Scouts organization and the Y. M. C. A. have apparently very little influence on these boys. This does not imply that the institution and organization named are not beneficial and do not come into contact with such boys. It may be that they take such good care of the leisure time of their members that the members do not become behavior-problem cases to any great extent. There is no way of measuring the number of behavior cases there might be if we had no such organizations. Elmer[49] found that of 460 delinquents only 21 had contacts with organizations that sought to mold the lives of boys along useful lines. Four of these were with a Neighborhood House, twelve with the Boy Scouts, and five with Y. M. C. A. Out of 303 cases he records that only twenty-eight attended church, a much poorer showing than that made by our own group

Further, if, as has often been stated, the majority of delinquents come from homes of poverty, it would seem that a greater number might be engaged in remunerative occupations during their leisure time to assist their families in acquiring the necessities of life. Such is not, however, the case if we accept the statements of the boys, and there seems to be no reason for doing otherwise. Of course, it may be that there are insufficient jobs available that would fit the abilities of these boys.

The deleterious influences of the streets and gangs seem to have already acquired a strong hold on the majority of the boys, making it increasingly difficult for them to adjust themselves to the less adventuresome existence of a well-ordered life that characterizes the individual with well-ordered habits.

14. *Time Spent in Disciplinary School*

A point that is frequently under discussion and has an important bearing on the kind of training that will best suit the needs of behavior-problem boys is the length of time they spend in the disciplinary school. The records show that the length of stay ranges from refusal to remain at all to sixty school

[49] Elmer, M. C. *The Juvenile Delinquent in St. Paul, Minnesota.* St. Paul, Minnesota: The Community Chest, 1926, p. 24.

months, or six school years. The cases of boys who fail to put in an appearance consist of those eligible for working papers who prefer to accept a job as an avenue of escape from attendance. There is also a group of boys who enter the parochial schools in preference to coming to the disciplinary school. The data on length of time spent in the disciplinary school are presented in Table XL. The median length of time for the white boys is nine months and from eleven to fifteen months for the negro boys.

The same type of data was secured for the boys readmitted during the year 1926–1927 who had been dropped from the school register at an earlier date, and is presented in Table XLI. The figures tell much the same story, the differences being slight and attributable, possibly, to the smaller number of cases.

If a disciplinary school is to attempt to perform a constructive service to these boys it must take into consideration the comparatively short period of time the boys remain in the school,

TABLE XL

TIME SPENT IN DISCIPLINARY SCHOOL BY BOYS DROPPED FROM LEE SCHOOL ROLL 1926–1927

TIME—IN MONTHS	NUMBER			PER CENT		
	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Less than 1	30	4	34	10.0	5.2	9.0
1	13	2	15	4.3	2.6	4.0
2	15	5	20	5.0	6.5	5.3
3	12	4	16	4.0	5.2	4.3
4	15	1	16	5.0	1.3	4.3
5	19	4	23	6.3	5.2	6.1
6	14	..	14	4.7	....	3.7
7	14	3	17	4.7	3.9	4.5
8	14	5	19	4.7	6.5	5.0
9	12	3	15	4.0	3.9	4.0
10	20	2	22	6.7	2.6	5.8
11–15	53	12	65	17.6	15.5	17.2
16–20	28	11	39	9.3	14.3	10.4
21–25	13	9	22	4.3	11.7	5.8
26–30	11	8	19	3.7	10.4	5.0
31 or more	17	4	21	5.7	5.2	5.6
Total	300	77	377	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median	9	11–15	9			
Mode	11–15	11–15	11–15			

and adjust the curriculum to serve their needs to the best advantage, or society must give the school control for a longer period of time and still permit curricular modifications.

A factor that is inseparably connected with the length of time spent in the disciplinary school, and also closely associated with the intellectual status and educational accomplishments of the boys, as concerns the formulation of an educational program for such a school, is the grade reached when the boys leave school. The extent to which the existing type of curricula in the disciplinary and other schools has been assimilated is indicated in Table XLII. The median grades attained were, for the white boys, the sixth, and for the negroes, the fifth. This does not seem to be exceedingly low when we consider the level of intelligence of many of the boys. It does indicate, however, the degree of difficulty that should characterize any activities that may be introduced into the curricula of the school.

TABLE XLI

LENGTH OF TIME FORMERLY SPENT IN DISCIPLINARY SCHOOL BY BOYS READMITTED DURING 1926–1927

TIME—IN MONTHS	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Less than 1	5	1	6
1	7	..	7
2	4	4	8
3	4	..	4
4	6	..	6
5	2	2	4
6–10	15	10	25
11–15	13	1	14
16–20	5	..	5
21–25	..	1	1
26–30	..	2	2
31 or more	4	1	5
Total	65	22	87
Median	6–10	6–10	6–10
Mode	6–10	6–10	6–10

TABLE XLII

GRADE REACHED BY BOYS DROPPED FROM LEE SCHOOL ROLL
1926–1927

GRADE	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
9	1	..	1
8	15	1	16
7	75	11	86
6	67	18	85
5	71	18	89
4	45	8	53
3	19	11	30
2	6	6	12
1	1	4	5
Total	300	77	377
Median	6	5	5
Mode	7	5–6	5

15. *Reasons for Dismissal from Disciplinary School*

The question has frequently been raised as to what happens to the boys who are sent to the disciplinary school. Do they return to a regular school in due time; does their admission to an orthogenic disciplinary (O. D.) school furnish the impetus in their getting a job, or, worse still, do they progressively deteriorate and enter correctional institutions? In an attempt to determine the immediate disposition of boys dropped from the class roll of a disciplinary school the records for the year 1920–1921, and 1921–1922, and 1926–1927, have been analyzed.

Names may be dropped from the roll of a school only on authority of the Bureau of Compulsory Education of Philadelphia which, in turn, acts in accordance with the regulations established by the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction. During the first two years covered by this portion of the study, names were dropped from the school register in accordance with the following classifications:

A-1 *Enrolled Elsewhere.* Th s group includes pupils who are found to be
- (a) attending parochial or private schools
- (b) under approved Private Instruction Certificate
- (c) committed to homes or other institutions.

A-2 *Incapacitated.* This group includes pupils who have been certified by the school medical inspector as
- (a) permanently incapacitated
- (b) not a fit subject for education and training.

A-3 *Over Compulsory Age.* This group includes pupils sixteen years of age or over whose parents withdraw them from school for any cause.

A-4—*Legally Employed.* This group includes pupils for whom general employment certificates have been issued.

A-5 *Moved from District.* This group includes

(a) pupils who have removed permanently from the city

(b) pupils who have changed their residence and whose new residence cannot be found.

A-6 *Deceased.*

A-7 This group includes

(a) kindergarten pupils under six years of age

(b) high school pupils residing beyond legal two-mile limit and transportation not furnished.

Between 1922 and 1926 several changes were made in the code used to drop pupils' names from the school rolls. The letter "D" was substituted for "A". The old classification of "A-7" was divided into "D-7" and "D-8", the former including those children under compulsory school age.*

The analysis of the records for the years mentioned above is shown in Table XLIII. For the first two years covered in this portion of the study the records do not differentiate as to race nor as to the subdivisions under each code number, hence no distinction can be drawn to show the number of white and negro boys included, nor to distinguish the subdivisions under D-1 and D-5.

In both these years the largest group of boys, 62 and 153 respectively, were dropped under A-3, indicating that they were beyond legal compulsory school age and had taken advantage of this fact to go to work. There seems to have been a gross clerical error committed during the year 1920–1921. Thirty-five boys or 13.6 per cent were dropped under A-7. An analysis of the records shows that the boys concerned were not under compulsory school age nor had they completed the eighth grade and lived beyond the two-mile limit. After a conference with the attendance supervisor of the district in which the school is

* The above classifications are taken from the Board of Public Education, Bureau of Compulsory Education, Circular of Information, December 1, 1920, and from Form E H 115.

TABLE XLIII

CAUSES OF DISMISSAL FROM DISCIPLINARY SCHOOL

CAUSE	1920–1921		1921–1922		1926–1927		1926–1927			
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO. WHITE	NO. NEGRO	% WHITE	% NEGRO
A–1 (D–1) Parochial or Private Institutions	31	12.1	56	15.7	92	24.4	30 48	1 13	10.0 16.0	1.3 16.9
A–2 (D–2) Incapacitated	3	1.2	2	.6	2	.5	2	....	.7	....
A–3 (D–3) Over School Age	62	24.1	153	43.0	114	30.2	87	27	29.0	35.0
A–4 (D–4) Legally employed	14	5.4	33	9.3	58	15.4	53	5	17.7	6.5
A–5 (D–5) Cannot Locate	41	15.9	68	19.1	73	19.4	11	6	3.7	7.8
Moved From Disttrict	....	....	....	....	....	....	40	16	13.3	20.8
A–6 (D–6) Deceased	3	1.2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
A–7 (D–7) Finished 8 Gr*	35	13.6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
(D–8) Under Comp. Schl. Age	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Transferred to Other Discip. Class	40	15.6	3	.8	4	1.1	....	4	....	5.2
Backward Class	1	.4	3	.8	2	.5	1	1	.3	1.3
Regular Class	27	10.5	37	10.4	29	7.7	25	4	8.3	5.2
Nutrition	....	....	....	....	1	.3	1	....	.3	....
Open-Window Class	....	....	1	.3	....	....	....	....	....	....
Shallcross School†	....	....	....	....	2	.5	2	....	.7	....
Total	257	100.0	326	100.0	377	100.0	300	77	100.0	100.0

* "Pupils having completed the eighth year, residing beyond legal two-mile limit, and transportation not furnished."
† Residential School under charge of Board of Education, opened 1926.

located and a further examination of the records, the conclusion was reached that these thirty-five names should have been dropped under A-3, as over compulsory school age. Such a change would bring the per cent of those dropped under A-3 up to 39.7, more nearly equaling the number dropped the following year under the same classification.

During the year 1920–1921 the next largest group of boys was dropped under A-5 (41 or 15.9 per cent). How many of these had left town or had been lost cannot be determined, nor can the number who continued their schooling be secured with any degree of certainty. The same classification held second place for the year 1921–1922, sixty-eight (19.1 per cent) having been been dropped under A-5.

Forty boys or 15.6 per cent of the group dropped during 1920-1921 were sent to another disciplinary school. This large number may be attributed to the fact that a second disciplinary school was opened during that year and those boys who lived near the new school were transferred to it. During the following year, fifty-six or 15.7 per cent of the boys' names were dropped under A-1. Due to the incomplete data we are unable to determine how many went to parochial or private schools, how many secured private instruction, or how many were sent to institutions.

A more detailed analysis of the reasons for dropping names from the school roll is possible for the year 1926–1927 because of the acquisition of additional data. During this year we also find that the largest group of boys, 30.2 per cent, was dropped as beyond compulsory school age. A total of ninety-two boys or 24.4 per cent was dropped under D-1, while the third place is taken by the D-5 group, numbering seventy-three or 19.4 per cent.

It will be seen by comparison of the figures that in each of the three years the greatest number of boys left school to go to work. The group dropped under D-5 holds second place two years, and third place another year.

Turning to the detailed analysis for 1926–1927 we find that the boys dropped under D-1 tend to be sent to institutions, rather than to enter parochial schools or to secure private instruction. This seems to be particularly true of the negro boys. Of those dropped under D-5 more boys seem to have moved permanently

from the city than to have changed their residence and to have been lost during the process of moving. It is impossible, of course, to tell how many boys dropped under this classification continued their education.

If we go a step further and group the numbers under the headings of "School Career Ended" and "School Career Continued" we can see better to what extent boys sent to a disciplinary school continue their educational careers. The figures given in Table XLIV show that almost fifty per cent of the boys leaving the disciplinary school ended, at least temporarily, their school careers. This seems to be a conservative statement since some of the boys dropped under D-5 undoubtedly had not left the city but succeeded in evading the school laws.

Among the boys transferred within the school system the only significant group has already been referred to, the one composed of the boys returned to regular grades. To what extent these boys made good cannot be determined at this time. The subsequent analysis of the 1920–1921 group may throw some light on this point. Personal knowledge permits us to say that not all of the 1926–1927 group have made good. Additional investigation will be necessary to determine the extent to which boys returned to regular grades have been successful.

Some indication of what happens to the boys dropped from the school roll may be secured by reference to Table XLV. Of the boys admitted to the disciplinary school during the year 1926–1927, eighty-seven had formerly been there. The reasons for their previous dismissal are indicated in the table. Ten boys who had gone to parochial school returned, the parochial authorities refusing to retain them because of their misconduct. Twenty-five boys had been committed to institutions and, upon the expiration of their commitments, had of necessity been returned to the disciplinary school. One boy had been erroneously dropped as beyond compulsory school age and was returned when the error was discovered. The boys who had been legally employed quite naturally returned when they lost their jobs, or were forced back when they refused to attend continuation school. Of those transferred to other schools within the system, the eight who went to regular classes were returned because they had failed to make good.

TABLE XLIV

ANALYSIS OF CAUSES OF DISMISSAL TO DETERMINE WHETHER SCHOOL CAREER IS ENDED OR CONTINUED

CAREER ENDED	1920–1921		1921–1922		1926–1927		1926–1927			
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO. WHITE	NO. NEGRO	% WHITE	% NEGRO
D—2	3	1.2	2	.6	2	.5	2	....	.7	....
D—3	62	24.1	153	43.0	114	30.2	87	27	29.0	35.0
D—4	14	5.4	33	9.3	58	15.4	53	5	17.7	6.5
D—6	3	1.2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
D—7	35	13.6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total	117	45.5	188	52.9	174	46.1	142	32	47.4	41.5

CAREER CONTINUED	1920–1921		1921–1922		1926–1927		1926–1927			
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO. WHITE	NO. NEGRO	% WHITE	% NEGRO
D—1	31	12.1	56	15.7	92	24.4	78	14	26.0	18.2
D—5	41	15.9	68	19.1	73	19.4	51	22	17.0	28.6
Transferred to										
Other Dis. Class	40	15.6	3	.8	4	1.1	....	4	....	5.2
Backward Class	1	.4	3	.8	2	.5	1	1	.3	1.3
Regular Class	27	10.5	37	10.4	29	7.7	25	4	8.3	5.2
Nutrition Class	....	....	....	....	1	.3	1	....	.3	....
Open-Window Class	....	....	1	.3	....	....	....	....	....	....
Shallcross School	....	....	....	....	2	.5	2	....	.7	....
Total	140	54.5	168	47.1	203	53.9	158	45	52.6	58.5

Bearing in mind the incompleteness of the data, and the limited number of groups surveyed, it would seem that admission to a disciplinary school spells "finis" to further academic training beyond that school to a great number of the boys. If further study substantiates this preliminary conclusion there are several educational implications that should be considered, particularly as concerns curriculum adjustments.

TABLE XLV

REASONS FOR PREVIOUS DISMISSAL FROM DISCIPLINARY SCHOOL OF BOYS READMITTED 1926–1927

REASON	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
D–1 Parochial	10	..	10
Institutions	18	7	25
D–3 Over Compulsory School Age	1	..	1
D–4 Legally Employed	8	2	10
D–5 Moved from District or cannot locate	11	7	18
Transferred to			
Backward Class	2	2	4
Other Disciplinary Class	5	4	9
Regular Class	8	..	8
Shallcross School	2	..	2
Total	65	22	87
Per Cent of total admitted 1926–1927	23.3	21.2	22.7

16. *Post-School Careers of Behavior-Problem Boys*

The success of a school and of a prescribed curriculum can be measured largely by the extent to which they function in the lives of the individuals who attend a given school and follow the curriculum offered. The effectiveness of a disciplinary school in preparing the children who are sent to it to fill a useful place in society has been scientifically determined, so far as can be discovered, in only one instance. At the request of Miss Olive M. Jones, Principal of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City, the Bureau of Jewish Social Research undertook a study of the after-careers of the boys of her school. The results of the study are presented in "A Study of the After-Careers of Pupils of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City." All the boys, 270

in number, who were listed on the register of the school during the academic year 1919–1920 were selected for the study and the survey was made during the year 1925–1926.

In the present survey the names of all boys dropped from the Lee School roll during 1920–1921 and 1921–1922 were selected from the file, together with such other information as would serve to identify them. This information was transcribed on a form (See Appendix F) that was to serve for recording results of the interviews with the boys, if located.

Similarity to Other Groups in Survey.—Some information regarding these boys already has been presented. It has been shown that there was not much difference between them and the boys admitted or dismissed during the year 1926–1927. In those cases where the boy went to another school within the system he was traced by means of communications sent to the principals of the schools. With two exceptions the boys left school as soon as they were able to meet the requirements of the Compulsory Attendance Law. Both exceptions were boys who entered high school, attended for less than one year, and then were dropped because of inability to do the work.

Mobility of the Families.—The inability to locate more than thirty-three per cent of these boys indicates the extreme mobility of the families to which they belong. Even among those who were located there is a considerable tendency to move about as is evidenced by the frequency with which it was found necessary to visit two or more addresses before the family was finally located. In interpreting the results secured from this portion of the survey it will be necessary to bear in mind that those boys who have been located tend, more than likely, to represent the more stable of the group. The degree to which stability and success are correlated would have to be determined before a more definite statement could be made.

Difficulties Encountered.—This extreme mobility of the boys whose careers were being followed has served to make this portion of the study less conclusive than might otherwise have been possible. The results show the difficulty to be expected in seeking to make contacts with this type of boy five years or more after he has severed his connections with school life. The visits

to the homes of the boys were made by the writer and four assistants. Contacts were attempted on 613 cases, with success in 208 of this number, or 33.9 per cent. A variety of reasons is responsible for the lack of success in 405 cases. In the majority of cases the boy and his family were not known in the neighborhood, nor was a better address obtainable. Whenever such addresses were secured they were investigated. In several instances three and even four addresses were visited to find one boy. The following reasons were found to be the causes for failure to make contact, in addition to the one mentioned above:

1. Incorrect address. Present dwellers in the house lived there for ten years or more and do not know the boy.
2. House vacant and family being sought not known to neighbors.
3. No such address exists. In these cases the addresses were rechecked against the school files and found to have been copied correctly.
4. House torn down to make way for Delaware River Bridge, industrial or other establishments.
5. Definitely known to have moved out of town.

In one instance the family refused to furnish any information concerning the boy although admitting that he had attended the disciplinary school. Considerable resentment and antagognism were evident in the manner of the mother who answered the bell. Apparently the boy was not working at the time, as he approached the house during the very brief conversation that took place. On two occasions the relatives of the boys sought claimed that the boys had never gone to the school. A check-up on the records in these two cases showed that the boys had never appeared and were subsequently dropped from the school roll under A-1 (D-1), indicating that they had either gone to a private or parochial school or to an institution. Further information regarding these particular cases was not obtainable.

Present Occupation or Status of Boys Located.—Table XLVI lists the present occupation or status of the 208 boys with whose families contacts were made. Out of this total there were thirty boys, or more than fourteen per cent, who were unemployed at the time of the interviews. This may be due to the fact that a

period of business depression, marked by unemployment, existed at the time many of the interviews were held, or it may be attributable to the fact that the work done by the boys is largely of the unskilled or semi-skilled type, with the result that they are the first ones to be dropped when work becomes scarce. Comparison with the census classification shows that the occupations listed belong, for the most part, under the heading of semi-skilled operatives.

TABLE XLVI

PRESENT STATUS OR OCCUPATION OF BOYS DISMISSED FROM LEE SCHOOL DURING YEARS 1920–21, 1921–22

PRESENT OCCUPATION OR STATUS	1920–21	1921–22	TOTAL
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY			
Farm laborers (working out)	1	1	2
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES			
Apprentices to building and hand trades			
Cabinet makers' apprentices	0	1	1
Electricians' "	1	2	3
Machinists' "	1	2	3
Bakers	1	1	2
Brick and stone masons	0	3	3
Carpenters	3	0	3
Laborers, building, general and not otherwise specified	12	4	16
Machinists	1	2	3
Mechanics, not otherwise specified			
Molders, founders and casters (metal)	1	2	3
Painters, glaziers, varnishers	2	2	4
Plasterers and cement finishers	0	1	1
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	2	3	5
Roofers and slaters	0	1	1
Semi-skilled operatives			
Candy	1	0	1
Cigar and tobacco factories	0	1	1
Clay, glass and stone industries	0	1	1
Hat factory (felt)	0	1	1
Paper and pulp mills	1	0	1
Tanneries	0	1	1
Textile industries	1	1	2
Woolen and worsted mills	1	1	2
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factories)	0	1	1
Structural iron workers	0	1	1
Upholsterers	0	1	1

TABLE XLVI—*Continued*

PRESENT OCCUPATION OR STATUS	1920–21	1921–22	TOTAL
TRANSPORTATION			
Chauffeurs	8	23	31
Draymen, teamsters and expressmen	2	1	3
Garage keepers and managers	3	4	7
Longshoremen and stevedores	0	1	1
TRADE			
Clerks in stores	1	1	2
Commercial travelers	1	0	1
Decorators, drapers and window dressers	0	1	1
Newsboys	0	1	1
Proprietors, officials and managers	3	4	7
Retail dealers			
Fruit	0	1	1
Hucksters and peddlers	1	1	2
Ice	1	3	4
PUBLIC SERVICE			
Soldiers, sailors and marines	2	3	5
PROFESSIONAL			
Attendants and helpers			
Theatre ushers	1	0	1
Actors and showmen	1	1	2
Semi-professional pursuits			
Turfmen and sportsmen	0	2	2
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE			
Barbers	1	0	1
Bootblacks	0	1	1
Cooks	0	1	1
Janitors	1	0	1
Porters (except in stores)			
Porters, domestic and personal service	1	0	1
Porters, steam railroad	0	1	1
Bell boys, chore boys, etc	1	1	2
Waiters	0	1	1
Other pursuits			
Bathhouse attendants	0	1	1
CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS			
Clerks, (except clerks in stores)	0	1	1
Shipping clerks	0	1	1
Other clerks	1	1	2
NOT CLASSIFIED			
Deceased	1	3	4
Invalid	0	1	1
Jail	1	5	6
Unemployed	21	9	30
Ne'er-do-well	3	13	16
Refused to furnish information	1	0	1
Never at Lee (claim of parents)	0	2	2
Total	85	123	208
Unlocated	172	233	405
Grand Total	257	356	613

The New York study presents data on 185 cases about whom information was available. A comparison is made in Table XLVII with the data on 208 cases with whom contact was made in the present survey. It is significant to note that almost two and one-half times as many boys were unemployed in the Philadelphia survey as in the New York report. Another contrast is to be found in the number of boys in reform schools or prisons, 6.5 per cent in New York as opposed to 2.9 per cent in the present study.

TABLE XLVII

COMPARISON OF STATUS OF BOYS FROM PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK DISCIPLINARY SCHOOLS AT TIME OF STUDY OF THEIR POST-SCHOOL CAREERS

PRESENT OCCUPATION OR STATUS	P. S. 120*		LEE SCHOOL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
Employed	140	75.7	148	71.1
Unemployed	17	9.2	46	22.1
Still in School	3	1.6	0	0.0
In Reform School or Jail	12	6.5	6	2.9
Orphan Asylum	1	0.5	0	0.0
Whereabouts unknown to parents	7	3.8	0	0.0
Dead	5	2.7	4	1.9
Invalid	0	0.0	1	.5
Refused to furnish information	0	0.0	1	.5
Never at Lee School (claim of parents)	0	0.0	2	1.0
Total	185	100.0	208	100.0

* Bureau of Jewish Social Research. *A Study of the After-Careers of Pupils of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City.* New York: 1927, p. 28.

A further comparison that may be made with the study of New York's disciplinary boys concerns itself with the occupations held by the boys. Grouping the figures for the Philadelphia study under headings similar to those employed for New York we may summarize the results as follows:

OCCUPATIONS	P. S. 120*		LEE SCHOOL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
Own business	19	13.6	7	4.7
Skilled workers	45	32.2	53	35.8
Semi-skilled workers	44	31.4	58	39.1
Unskilled workers	29	20.7	30	20.2
Unknown	3	2.1	0	0.0
Total	140	100.0	148	100.0

* Bureau of Jewish Social Research. *A Study of the After-Careers of Pupil of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City.* New York: 1927, p. 29-30.

The two points showing marked variations are (1) those who own their own business, the New York boys being almost three times as many, and (2) the unskilled workers, Philadelphia having almost eight per cent more. A likely explanation of this latter situation is given elsewhere.

Types of Jobs Held Since Leaving School.—Many of the boys when questioned as to the number and kinds of jobs they had held since leaving school, were unable to remember with any degree of certainty. Some of them held a job only a short time then changed to something else, with an interval of unemployment between each shift. Two had been employed steadily and at the same trade since starting work. Table XLVIII indicates the types of positions held since leaving school, together with the number of boys who claimed to have held such jobs. It must be borne in mind that this list is not a complete one inasmuch as the boys were unable to speak with any definiteness regarding the number and kinds of jobs they had held.

Records are kept in the office of the Philadelphia Public Schools Junior Employment Service of the jobs held by boys between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Since only a very small number of the boys were dropped under D-4 (Table XLIV), indicating that they had gone to work before reaching sixteen years of age

TABLE XLVIII

TYPES OF JOBS HELD BY BOYS DROPPED FROM ROLL OF LEE SCHOOL DURING YEARS 1920–21, 1921–22, INCLUDING PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE EMPLOYED AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

TYPE OF JOB	1920–21	1921–22	TOTAL
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY			
Farm laborers (working out)	1	1	2
Garden, greenhouse and nursery laborer	1	0	1
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES			
Apprentices to building and hand trades			
Cabinet makers' apprentices	0	2	2
Electricians' "	1	2	3
Machinists' "	1	3	4
Bakers	1	2	3
Brick and stone masons	0	5	5
Cabinet makers	1	0	1
Carpenters	3	2	5
Electricians	0	1	1
Laborers, building, general and not otherwise specified	25	19	44
Machinists	1	5	6
Mechanics, not otherwise specified	5	6	11
Molders, founders and casters (metal)	1	3	4
Painters, glaziers and varnishers	2	4	6
Plasterers and cement finishers	0	1	1
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	4	9	13
Roofers and slaters	1	3	4
Semi-skilled operatives			
Candy	1	0	1
Chemical and allied industries	1	1	2
Cigar and tobacco factories	0	1	1
Clay, glass and stone industries	0	2	2
Hat factories (felt)	0	1	1
Iron and steel industries	1	2	3
Lumber and furniture industries	0	2	2
Paper and pulp mills	1	0	1
Shoe factories	0	1	1
Tanneries	0	1	1
Textile industries	3	5	8
Woolen and worsted mills	1	1	2
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factories)	0	1	1
Structural iron workers	0	1	1
Tailors	0	4	4
Tinsmiths and sheet metal workers	0	2	2
Upholsterers	0	3	3
TRANSPORTATION			
Chauffeurs	13	27	40
Draymen, teamsters and expressmen	10	12	22
Garage keepers and managers	3	4	7
Longshoremen and stevedores	0	1	1
Sailors and deckhands	1	0	1

TABLE XLVIII—*Continued*

TYPE OF JOB	1920–21	1921–22	TOTAL
TRADE			
Clerks in stores	4	10	14
Commercial travelers	1	0	1
Decorators, drapers and window dressers	0	1	1
Newsboys	0	1	1
Proprietors, officials and managers	3	4	7
Retail dealers			
Butchers and meat dealers	0	1	1
Fruit	1	1	2
Hucksters and peddlers	1	1	2
Ice	1	3	4
Real estate agents and officials	1	0	1
Salesmen	0	1	1
PUBLIC SERVICE			
Soldiers, sailors, and marines	2	6	8
PROFESSIONAL			
Attendants and helpers			
Theatre ushers	1	0	1
Actors and showmen	1	1	2
Semi-professional pursuits			
Turfmen and sportsmen	0	2	2
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE			
Barbers	1	1	2
Bootblacks	0	2	2
Cooks	0	1	1
Janitors	1	0	1
Laborers	0	1	1
Laundry operatives	0	1	1
Porters (except in stores)			
Porters, domestic and personal service	1	0	1
Porters, steam railroads	0	1	1
Porters, other	0	1	1
Servants			
Bell boys, chore boys, etc	1	2	3
Waiters	0	2	2
Other pursuits			
Bathhouse attendants	0	1	1
CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS			
Clerks (not otherwise specified)	0	3	3
Shipping clerks	1	3	4
Messenger, bundle and office boys	1	1	2
Cashiers	0	1	1
Other clerks	1	1	2

no attempt was made to check on this data. Farley[50] in "A Comparative Study of 158 Continuation School Children in Philadelphia" found that the records in the Junior Employment

[50] Farley, E. S. *A Comparative Study of 158 Continuation School Children in Philadelphia.* Unpublished Seminar Report, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1928, p. 4.

Office were incomplete and of such a nature as to make the acquisition of the data needed almost impossible from that source.

Marital Status of Boys Located.—Table XLIX presents the marital status of the 208 boys who left the Lee School during the years 1920–1921, 1921–1922. Forty-seven of the total were married. Of this number twenty-seven had established separate homes for their wives, while eighteen were living with the parents of the husband or wife, or boarding with relatives. In two instances separation had occurred, with action toward a divorce taken by one of the two couples. In the New York study seven of the 185 boys were found to have married and all are reported as having their own homes.

TABLE XLIX

MARITAL STATUS OF 208 BOYS DROPPED FROM LEE SCHOOL ROLL DURING 1920–1921, 1921–1922

STATUS	1920–1921	1921–1922	TOTAL
Single	67	91	158
Engaged	1	2	3
Married	17	30	47
Established own home	10	17	27
Living with parents or relatives	6	12	18
Separated	1	1	2
Total	85	123	208

Severance of Home Ties.—Of those who were not married twenty-seven had separated from home ties, some voluntarily and others by request. Five of this number were in the military or naval service and were expected to return home at the expiration of the period of enlistment. The actors, railroad porter and traveling salesman and two who were working in distant cities, a total of six, left home to secure or retain positions that required residence elsewhere. One boy had been placed in a sanitarium because of his health. Five others had been requested to leave home by their parents because of their unwillingness to work or because of their inability to get along amicably with their respective families. Six boys were spending an enforced sojourn in jail. The remaining four cases are boys who have died.

Thirty-seven of the 185 boys in the New York schools[51] had left home. Five boys were rooming away from home; one was in the U. S. Navy; seven were out of town, the reasons not given; twelve were in jails or reform schools; the whereabouts of seven were unknown to their parents, and five had died.

The disintegration of home influences seems to be strong when we consider the approximate ages of the boys in these groups. Over twenty per cent of the boys in the New York survey, and almost thirteen per cent of those in the Philadelphia study had already severed home ties.

Ratings of Neighborhoods.—The type of neighborhood in which the boys dropped from the Lee School roll during 1920–1921 and 1921–1922 lived at the time of their dismissal was rated. The items included in the Whittier Scale for Grading Neighborhoods were used as a basis for determining the score, although no attempt was made to evaluate each individual item on the scale. Each neighborhood was rated on a five-point scale, the best type of neighborhood grading one, and the poorest five. On the basis of this classification the distribution as given in Table L was secured for all the neighborhoods visited, including those where the addresses were incorrect or non-existent. It should be noted that both the median and the mode fall under

TABLE L

RATINGS OF NEIGHBORHOODS OF BOYS DISMISSED FROM LEE SCHOOL 1920–1921, 1921–1922

RATING	1920–1921		1921–1922		TOTAL	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
2	7	2.7	8	2.3	15	2.4
3	142	55.3	177	49.7	319	52.1
4	93	36.2	151	42.4	244	39.8
5	15	5.8	20	5.6	35	5.7
TOTAL	257	100.0	356	100.0	613	100.0

[51] Bureau of Jewish Social Research. *A Study of the After-Careers of Pupils of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City.* New York: 1927, pp. 25–26.

the rating of three, with the next largest group rated four. Very few of the neighborhoods rate above the average (three) and none fall in the superior group. The tendency is for the neighborhoods to grade below rather than above the average. A similar tendency has been noticed in the grading made of another group of neighborhoods in an earlier portion of this study (see pages 71–79). It becomes evident from an examination of the ratings that boys from the better types of neighborhoods do not tend to appear in the disciplinary school. One need not necessarily conclude, however, that boys from the superior types of neighborhoods do not become behavior-problems. It may be that a different method is employed in the solution of the problems such boys present, as, for example, sending them to private schools or military academies.

Turning again to the results presented in the New York study we may quote them as follows:

> One hundred and forty-six . . . homes were situated in the congested sections of the city or in slum districts; twelve were fair residential sections; while eight were considered good residential sections.[52]

Translated in terms of a five-point scale there would be 146 rated either four or five, twelve rated three, and eight rated two or one. On a percentage basis there are 88.0 per cent rated 4 or 5 as compared with 45.5 per cent of the Philadelphia homes similarly rated, 70.2 per cent rated three in New York, and 52.1 per cent in Philadelphia, and 4.8 per cent and 2.4 per cent rated two or one for New York and Philadelphia. In making a comparison of these data for the two cities it must be remembered that the basis for rating the New York homes is not stated.

Summary.—Several tentative conclusions may be drawn as a result of this portion of the survey. Boys sent to a disciplinary school tend to leave school as soon as the compulsory school laws free them from enforced attendance. After leaving school

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[52] Bureau of Jewish Social Research. *A Study of the After-Careers of Pupils of P. S. 120, Probationary, New York City.* New York: 1927, p. 20.

they tend to shift from job to job, never remaining long at any one. This tendency to migrate may be due to the absence of any specific trade training that might serve to give them a start in a particular vocational line. The migratory habit is also reflected in the entire family, if we may judge from the frequency with which the families have moved. While the tendency toward the disintegration of the home is a natural social phenomenon it seems, without having any comparative data, to be especially rapid among the families of those boys who were located. It must be remembered that, as has already been mentioned, the families that were located are, most likely, the more stable of those included in the survey.

The occupational level of the boys employed, seems to be comparatively low, the majority being of a semi-skilled type. Specific trade training might be of value in raising the level of the type of occupations, as well as tending to make for fewer changes of employment.

Finally, the social level of the homes of the boys sent to the disciplinary school seems to remain more or less constant as is evidenced by the ratings of the neighborhoods in which they live. Comparison of the ratings for the 1920–1921, 1921–1922 groups with those for the 1926–1927 group and the boys in the New York disciplinary school show no very striking differences. The tendency seems to be for the boys to come from average homes or those below average. This does not necessarily mean however, that boys from the better types of homes do not present behavior problems. It may be that such boys are sent to private schools when their anti-social tendencies become pronounced.

III

Summary and Conclusions

Definition of Terminology.—The inevitable conclusion drawn after reading the definitions of delinquency is that there is need for a more uniform interpretation of the term. The inclusiveness of a commonly accepted definition is less important than its conciseness and definiteness. It may be advisable to restrict the scope of the term to include only those who have committed overt acts that have brought them into contact with the court. On the other hand, it may be more advantageous to follow a tendency that is apparent to broaden the term and make it all-inclusive, embracing not only those who have court records, but also any who, because of their behavior or environment, are likely to become subjects of official action. Or, it may be that the term delinquent is ill-advised, and another term should be employed that would be more appropriate.

Definitions of the behavior-problem boy are almost entirely lacking. The general tendency seems to be to use "behavior-problem" and "delinquent" interchangeably. There is, however, an increasing use of the former term. Perhaps the present confusion of terms would be clarified if we confined the use of the term "delinquent" to those children who are technically such through contact with the court, and use the term "behavior problem" to refer to children who differ from others because of the manifestation of undesirable traits, habits, or behavior, whether in the home, school or community, without regard to the presence or absence of a court record.

Determination of Causation to Precede Prevention.—Progress in the determination of causation of delinquency and behavior problems must, of necessity, be a slow growth. Generalizations based upon insufficient data do not make for progress. It will only be through the acquisition of concrete facts, scientifically treated, that we may hope to move forward to the place where we will be in a position to say definitely and authoritatively just what are the factors of causation.

In the field of medicine, preventive and curative work must await the discovery of the cause. The same holds in the field of education. Not until we can state the causes of delinquency and behavior problems with some considerable degree of finality will we be able to prescribe effectively for their treatment. Further, preventive measures which are of infinitely greater value than treatment after the disease has taken hold, are also dependent upon the determination of the causes.

The Problem an Individual One.—While there is lacking at present that definiteness that is highly desirable, there is much that is known that can be used as a basis for preventive and curative work in the field. We do know that if real constructive work is to be undertaken we must consider the problem as an individual one. Rules and regulations cannot be prescribed and applied equally to all cases. Nor can an "arm-chair philosophy" of treatment be laid down as *the* policy that must be followed if any beneficial results are to be secured.

Co-operative Attitude Needed.—The human attitude of the person or persons supervising the child, whether teachers, court officials, or parents, is recognized as one of the most potential influences. This calls for teachers and other officials who possess an interest in the problems presented, who see more in their jobs than the monthly pay check, who are not so burdened with the dignity and importance of their positions but that they can show that they possess the human attitude. Nor can the preventive and curative work be left to one or two agencies. Co-operative enterprise is necessary, including the home, the school, the neighborhood, the courts, the churches and all other agencies of society. It will only be through the interaction of all these institutions that the most effective and constructive work can be accomplished.

A Composite Picture of the Behavior-Problem Boy.—The total number of cases included in the survey amounts to more than thirteen hundred. They represent boys who attended the disciplinary school during at least a part of one of three years, 1920–1921, 1921–1922 and 1926–1927. In the cases of boys in the first two groups they may have attended also at earlier dates, inasmuch as they have been selected on the basis of the

year during which they left the school. The same is true of the boys in the latter group who were selected on the basis of the year when they were dropped from the school roll. Many of the boys admitted during the last year are still on the school register and have not, as yet, completed their formal educational training. These groups of boys distributed over three yearly periods, and representing practically all the ages within the compulsory school period, seem to be a fair representation of the youth of the city that present conduct problems. Reference to the spot maps (Figs. 6, 7 and 8) serve to further indicate the representative character of the groups by showing that they are not selected from any one section of the city but are, for the most part, found in practically all sections of the city. Some sections furnish more boys than others, due possibly, to the density of population and the type of community.

If we accept the boys who are included in this study as representative of boys who present behavior-problems we may draw a picture that will be somewhat characteristic of the behavior-problem boy.

1. The behavior-problem boy is characterized by the fact that his anti-social tendencies manifest themselves along several lines. He does not commit merely an isolated type of act, but is usually guilty of several, as is evidenced by the fact that there was an average of 2.86 types of offenses per white boy and 3.33 per negro boy (Table I and Appendix H).

2. Truancy is the form of behavior that predominates among these boys, 51.5 per cent of the white boys and 41.0 per cent of the negroes being so charged (Table I).

3. The usual classroom activities make little or no appeal to the behavior-problem boy as is evidenced by his disobedience, defiance, insolence, insubordination and other offenses against classroom procedure (Table I and Appendix H).

4. Not only is this type of boy a truant and uninterested in classroom activities, but his anti-social manifestations also lie in antagonism and defiance of the authority of all officials, and in physical violence to persons (Table I.)

5. There is an almost even chance that the behavior-problem boy has a court record, as is evidenced by the fact that 48.0

per cent of the white boys and 46.2 per cent of the negro boys had made one or more appearances in court (Table II).

6. That the behavior-problem boy is not the boy who commits an isolated act is further proven by their own statements as to the time when their misbehavior began. In the great majority of cases these boys were troublesome for one or more years prior to the time of their transfer to the disciplinary school (Tables III and IV).

7. Physically the boys are no different from the general population. If anything, they tend to be over-developed physically. As already mentioned, the tendency to be above average for height and weight may have a causal relationship to delinquency. In the matter of dental, aural and other defects they likewise show no marked variation from the normal (Pages 42–43 and Fig. 1).

8. Intellectually these boys are below average, the white boys having a median I. Q. of 75 and the negroes 80. Practically one-third of the former group and one-fourth of the latter may be definitely classed as mentally deficient. The extent to which low intelligence is a factor in the production of conduct disorders has been referred to above, with a caution about drawing the conclusion that low intelligence is necessarily concomitant with behavior problems and delinquency (Table V and Fig. 2).

9. Educationally the behavior-problem boy profits little by the type of curriculum found in the elementary schools. Not only is he retarded when he arrives at the disciplinary school, but the beginning of his retardation can often be traced back to the very early years of his school life (Tables VI–X).

10. There is more than an even chance that, in proportion to the total school population, the behavior-problem boy will be a negro. Among the white boys he is almost certain to be the native-born son of parents belonging to certain national groups (Tables XI-XIV).

11. The age at time of admission to the disciplinary school, as well as at time of dismissal, tends to be higher for the white boys than for the negro boys, the median ages for the former being fourteen and fifteen, respectively, and for the latter thirteen and fourteen, respectively (Fig. 3 and Table XI).

12. The citizenship status of parents will not serve as a measure for identifying the behavior-problem boy (Table XVII).

13. Religious affiliation of the child, likewise, is not a good guide-post. While a certain religion predominates among the white boys, due care must be taken not to draw faulty conclusions (Table XVIII).

14. The behavior-problem boy will quite often be found in homes that are abnormal as regards organization and marital relations (Tables XIX–XX).

15. There seems to be a tendency for the oldest boy in the family to become a behavior problem, with little conclusive evidence regarding a child who is the only one, or the youngest, in the family (Tables XXI-XXIII and Figs. 4–5).

16. There is considerable likelihood that the problem boy will be found in homes and neighborhoods that rank below the average for the general population. Such homes will tend to be overcrowded, to contain relatives and boarders in addition to the family, and frequently to be lacking in the conveniences that we are accustomed to expect in a home (Tables XXIV-XXXIII).

17. The occupational status of the parents of these boys will be found to rank relatively low. Most of the fathers will classify as laborers and unskilled or semi-skilled operatives in the different occupational classifications (Tables XXXIV and XXVI).

18. The majority of the mothers of the boys will be found to be gainfully employed because of the absence of the father or to supplement the income of the home. Domestic service and other non-skilled work most frequently represent the type of employment sought by the mothers (Tables XXXV and XXXVI).

19. The behavior-problem boy is not inclined to work during his leisure time, even though there is evidence that the home is in need of financial assistance. He is more inclined to run the streets, spend his time in the movies, or otherwise idle away the hours. He does not show an inclination to join worthwhile clubs or social organizations, but is more prone to join a gang that has at best no definite purpose or function. There is a tendency on the part of these boys to attend church. They are present in body, if not in spirit. The church seems to have greater drawing

powers for the negro boys than for the whites (Tables XXXVII-XXXIX).

20. The white boys are more addicted to the use of tobacco than are the negroes, as is indicated by the fact that 61.6 per cent of the former group and 26.0 per cent of the latter admitted using tobacco to a considerable extent (Page 97).

21. No significance can be attached to the ages of the playmates of behavior-problem boys (Page 99).

22. Behavior-problem boys do not tend to spend their leisure time in learning to play musical instruments. This may be partially attributable to economic reasons as well as to lack of interest (Page 100).

23. Behavior-problem boys, as represented by the groups included in the survey, tend to spend about one school year, or ten months in the disciplinary school. The factors of age and grade at time of admission tend to increase or decrease the length of this period, as do the efforts put forth by the boys to conform to social and educational rules and regulations, and thus earn their return to regular classes (Tables XL-XLI).

24. Dismissal from the disciplinary school marks the end of the school career for approximately half of the boys. When we further consider the amount of training they have received, as indicated by the grades attained when they left, it becomes evident that they are not well equipped for participation in life's activities (Tables XLII-XLV).

25. There is a considerable tendency among the families of behavior-problem boys to move as is evidenced by the fact that only 33 per cent of the boys dropped from the school roll during 1920–1921 and 1921–1922 were located (Page 112).

26. The extent to which boys leaving the disciplinary school are unprepared to make at least an economic success of life is evidenced by the types of positions they now hold and have held since their release from school. With few exceptions these positions may be rated among the unskilled or semi-skilled (Tables XLVI-XLVIII).

27. There seems to be a greater tendency among behavior-problem boys in Philadelphia to marry young than is true of a similar group of boys in New York City (Page 119).

28. There is a pronounced tendency among these boys to sever home ties for reasons other than matrimony (Page 119).

29. The neighborhoods in which the boys who have been out of school five or more years live do not rank any better than the neighborhoods of the 1926–1927 group that were rated. This fact may serve as further evidence of the inability of the boys, together with their families, to attain a fairly satisfactory degree of economic success (Table L).

Criteria for Determining Value of a Disciplinary School.—The range of usefulness of a disciplinary school, other than as a means of segregation, is dependent upon (1) the time the boys spend in the school, (2) the limits to which they can be expected to develop during the time they are in the school, which is dependent upon (a) the intellectual endowment of the boys, (b) the interests that are present or that may be developed in them, (c) the suitableness of the curricula in view of these factors, (d) the types and qualifications of the teachers.

Increase in Time Spent in Disciplinary School Desirable.—The median length of time spent in the disciplinary school has been shown to be approximately one school year. This offers very little time for any constructive work of a lasting nature. It would seem to be to the best interests of society to make an effort to keep the boys a longer period of time providing, of course, all the other factors are modified or adjusted to make this worth while. Retention for a longer period might be secured by making the curricula so attractive and of such practical value that the boys would want to stay, even after the compulsory school laws had ceased to hold them in attendance. Better still would be the plan of combining attractive and valuable curricula in the disciplinary school with the policy of selecting the boys at an earlier age before their anti-social tendencies had become so pronounced. The early segregation of these boys would have an added value in increasing the possibilities of salvaging more than it is at present possible to return to the regular schools.

The selection of such cases at an earlier age could be secured by the institution of a more complete system of records for all school children. Such records should include data concerning the social behavior of the children from the date of their first entrance

into the school system. The Personal Behavior Scale now bei developed by Yepson has already proven its value in selecti behavior-problem cases and could be utilized for this purpo The amount of clerical work involved is negligible in proporti to the value accruing to the teachers, the schools, the individua concerned, and to society at large. When such a scale indicat that the child is developing anti-social tendencies there shou follow, if it has not already been done, a psychological examin tion to secure additional data, after which a decision should made regarding the disposition of the case.

This is merely a brief outline of one possible method of dete mining the earliest possible selection of behavior-problem cas A more satisfactory procedure can undoubtedly be devised a worked out in detail whenever the school systems are prepar to undertake the task.

Intellectual and Educational Limitations of Behavior-Proble Boys.—The degree of difficulty of the work required of su boys must be determined in part by the median grade reach when the boys leave. This has been found to be the sixth gra for the white boys and the fifth for the negro boys. All wor regardless of the subject, should be planned with this fact mind, but care should be taken to provide opportunities for tho boys who develop greater abilities. Consideration of individu differences is of greater importance in this type of school than the regular classes.

Inseparably connected with the matter of the grade attain when leaving school is the intellectual endowment of the boy A proper classification is impossible without the knowledge th can be obtained as a result of a thorough psychological examin tion of all boys admitted to such a school. Such an examinati should be used as a partial determinant for admission.

At the present time the psychological examination giv the boys in the disciplinary school in Philadelphia is the be sou ce of information for diagnosing and treating the cases th reach the school. The examination includes (1) Terman revisi of the Binet Scale, (2) Tests for language development, (3) Tes for memory span, auditory and visual, forward and revers (4) Tests for school proficiency in reading, arithmetic, geograph

and history, (5) Performance tests covering the field of mechancial ability, (6) Personality traits of the individual, (7) Teaching suggestions (See Appendix G for sample copy of results of psychological examinations).

Guidance and Counselling.—The interests and aptitudes of behavior-problem boys, if properly determined, would serve as the point of departure, in connection with the psychological examination, in assigning the boys to the various curricula that should be offered. A teacher, thoroughly grounded in guidance and counselling, would be an invaluable aid to the personnel of such an organization. All boys, when admitted, should receive guidance and counsel before they are assigned a definite curriculum. Even then the work in guidance should not cease, but should follow the boys through their entire life in the school, making adjustments and modifications whenever necessary. After they have left school to go to work they should be followed because no program of guidance is adequate that fails to determine the extent to which the procedure adopted functions in practical life situations.

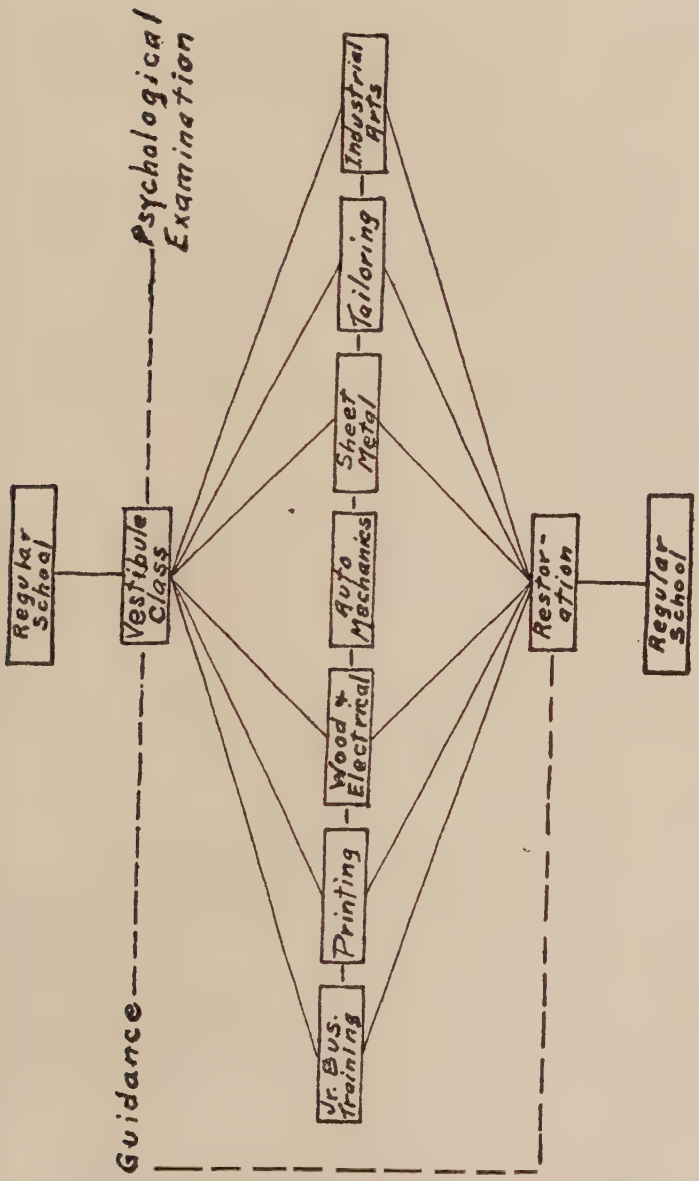
The amount of retardation that has been found to exist among the boys gives evidence that the present curriculum of the elementary schools does not fit their needs. A scientific investigation of the actual needs of these boys in their post-school careers would offer considerable data that could be used as a basis for curriculum construction. Such an investigation could be conducted along the lines indicated above, and include a sufficient number of cases to secure definite and conclusive facts. The Bureau of Compulsory Education could very readily, and without expense, undertake to secure the necessary data through the attendance officer. Additional data can be gradually accumulated by the follow-up work in guidance, and aid in making revisions and modifications in the curricula established.

A Functioning Disciplinary School Organization.—That such a program as outlined above is not Utopian is apparent. This study, in a small measure, has indicated the practicability of the ideas set forth. As further evidence of the possibilities of some such plan we may present an organization chart of the curricula adopted with the opening of the Boone School in September,

1927. The organization is far from ideal, yet gives evidence of progress along the lines indicated (Fig. 11). Unfortunately, no provision is made for the physical examination of boys at the time of their admission to the school. In spite of the fact that the routine examination discovers no greater number of defects than are found in the school population at large, a school of this type would undoubtedly enhance the value of its work by having every boy admitted subjected to a thorough physical examination and all remedial defects corrected. Such a program would require more of the time of the physician and more than it is possible to obtain at the present. Nevertheless, every means should be employed that may help to solve the problems presented by these boys. An experimental program along the line of the correction of physical defects should at least be undertaken to measure the extent to which their removal aids in the solution of the problem.

No attempt was made, except *a priori*, to determine the value of the different curricula. As time passes and the boys go into industry we may find it possible to renew contact with them and thus determine the degree to which the judgment used in formulating the curricula was sound.

All boys, when admitted, are assigned to the Vestibule Class where they remain until the teacher in charge has determined their actual academic standing, irrespective of the grade classification on their registration cards. During this period the boys also meet a teacher who endeavors to secure some knowledge of their interests and aptitudes. Whenever possible a psychological examination is given by the members of the Division of Special Education. After this necessary information is secured a conference is held and the boy is assigned a curriculum based on the data secured. Boys of junior high school grades tend to enter the Junior Business Training and Typewriting or the Printing Classes. Some, however, are assigned to the Sheet Metal or Automotive Classes. Boys of the lowest grades, from one to four, approximately, almost invariably enter the Industrial Arts Classes. A small proportion of them find their way into the lower of the Tailoring, Sheet Metal and other classes. These are usually the larger and older boys with limited intelligence.



11. ORGANIZATION OF CURRICULA OF BOONE SCHOOL

The Sheet Metal, Automotive Mechanics, Wood and Electrical, and Tailoring curricula take care of the large group of boys whose abilities range between that needed to do the work of the Industrial Arts curriculum on the one hand and the Printing and Business Training curricula on the other.

Theoretically all the boys are eligible for transfer to the Restoration Class if their behavior warrants admission to that group. As a matter of fact, most of the boys are so confirmed in their anti-social behavior when they reach the school, and are of such advanced age, that there is not sufficient time in which to re-establish their behavior patterns to the extent that would warrant their transfer to this group. Some do conform and are sent to the Restoration Class. A few are assigned there directly from the Vestibule Class when the facts in the case seem to justify such action.

The function of the Restoration Class is to prepare the boys to take their places in the regular grades and not to be out of step with the work in those grades. With this end in view, the curriculum is predominantly academic and highly intensified. The length of time spent in this class depends largely upon the boys. As soon as they give evidence of their ability to do the work of their grade they are returned to regular school. Monthly conferences are held by the teachers of this group at which the decisions regarding transfer are made. Once made they take effect immediately.

The Teacher as a Factor.—Without doubt the greatest single factor that will help or hinder the program of a school is the type of teacher assigned to the work. No attempt was made in this study to evaluate the service of the teachers, and it is mentioned now because it is of such vital importance in carrying out any program. Brief reference has been made earlier in the study of what is expected of teachers who handle disciplinary and delinquent boys. Only too frequently do they fail to manifest that human attitude that White[1] and Van Waters[2] criticize so severely.

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[1] O'Shea, M. V. (Editor). *The Child—His Nature and His Needs.* Valparaiso, Indiana: The Children's Foundation, 1924.

[2] Van Waters, Miram. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925.

Value of Study of Post-School Careers.—Reference has already been made to the importance of tracing these boys in their after-school careers. While certain difficulties were encountered in locating those included in this study they are not insurmountable and should not act as a deterrent to further investigation. A means of simplifying the routine and drudgery involved has been suggested above (Page 131). The adequacy and effectiveness of the work of a school cannot be measured without concrete facts that are ascertainable in no other way. Information thus secured is of two-fold value, (1) in modifying the curricula to better meet the needs of the boys, and (2) in measuring the extent to which the boys become worthwhile citizens of the community in which they live.

If there is added to the subsequent history of the boys about whom such data are obtained a concise account of their school careers, a more complete report is at hand to serve in meeting the needs of others who may be following the same paths.

Further Research Essential.—Throughout the study comparisons have been made, wherever possible, with other studies of problem boys or with delinquents. In most instances the comparisons, especially between the behavior-problem boys and the delinquents, showed a marked similarity. This is to be expected to a certain extent in view of the fact that almost fifty per cent of both racial groups had court records at the time of their admission. The similarity seems too pronounced, however, to be accounted for by a group representing only half the total. It seems more likely that the differences between the boys who have been to court and those who have not can be measured largely by their court records. Further investigation would be necessary to establish this point. Such a study might very well include a comparison of two groups of problem boys, one with and one without court records, or by tracing the careers of the 1926–1927 group of boys from the point where this study leaves them.

In the light of the facts that have been presented in this survey the following constructive proposals are suggested as possible means for further extending our knowledge of the behavior-problem boy, and for determining the means that may

serve to enhance the process of his readjustment to the social mores.

1. Study the effect of an increase in the length of time spent in the disciplinary school, such increase being secured by the means suggested above.
2. Measure the effect of a modification of the curriculum to fit the intellectual and educational limitations of behavior-problem boys.
3. Develop a program of counselling and guidance that will serve to accelerate the process of readjustment of these boys.
4. Study the elements that constitute personality with a view toward the more careful selection of teachers who are to handle behavior-problem children.
5. Measure the effectiveness and adequacy of the work of the disciplinary school by a continuous study of the after-careers of the product turned out by the school.
6. Compare a group of behavior-problem boys with a group of boys who are not mal-adjusted, keeping constant all other factors—age, intelligence, economic status of family, environment, etc.
7. Study the success records of boys who have been returned to regular grades and classes in order to determine the extent to which they make good.

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APPENDIX A

Discipline Case Report Blank

PARENTS' FIRST NAMES OR GUARDIAN'S FULL NAME	DATE OF BIRTH			FIRST NAME	LAST NAME
	MONTH	DAY	YEAR		
RESIDENCE				NATIVE COUNTRY (CHILD)	NATIVE COUNTRY (FATHER)
SCHOOL		DISTRICT		TEACHER	GRADE

NOTE:—*Forward in triplicate to the District Superintendent after preliminary conference; one copy to be filed in the office of the district superintendent, one returned to principal referring case, one forwarded to principal or other person to whom the case is assigned.*

1—Statement of Case

(A) NATURE OF DIFFICULTY—GIVING SPECIAL INSTANCES

(B) DISCIPLINE, MEASURES ALREADY TRIED:

(C) HOME CONDITIONS AND ATTITUDE OF PARENTS:

(D) LIST OF PREVIOUS SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS WHICH CORROBORATE THIS RECORD

2—Recommendation

(A) SPECIFIC TREATMENT SUGGESTED:

(B) ATTITUDE OF PARENT TOWARD ABOVE RECOMMENDATIONS

....

DATE PRINCIPAL.

3—Disposition of Case

....

DATE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT.

Form E 21—Discipline Case Report, Principal—School District of Philadelphia (June 1925)

APPENDIX B

The Behavior-Problem Boy

Questionnaire for Admission

1926–1927

Name..... Address.....
Date of birth..... Place of birth..... Admitted..... From.....
Occupation (father)..... Wages.....
Occupation (mother)..... Wages.....
Race..... Religion of child..... Language used in home.....

Family	*Country of birth*	*Yrs. in U. S.*	*Citizen-ship*	*Speaks English*	*Native Tongue*	*Religion*	*Living or dead*
Father..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mother.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Step....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Parents divorced..... Parents living apart (without divorce).....
Boy living with.....
No. children in family..... Rank of child in family .....

Name	*Age*	*Occupation*	*Name*	*Age*	*Occupation*
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

No. rooms in house..... No. persons per room.....
No. lodgers or boarders..... Bath..... Running Water.....
Are any brothers or sisters conduct problems? (Give name and sex).....
.....
.....
Boy uses—Tobacco..... Is boy on probation?.....
Belongs to Boy Scouts..... Big Brothers'..... Other Clubs (name).....
Does boy go to church?..... To Sunday School?.....
No. months in each grade:
K..... 1..... 3..... 5..... 7..... O. B.....
Par..... 2..... 4..... 6..... 8..... Con.....
Has boy attended O. D. school before?..... Date of Admission.....
Date of Dismissal..... Cause of Dismissal.....

Cause of each arrest, if any

1..... 5.....
2..... 6.....
3..... 7.....
4..... 8.....

Disposition of case after each arrest:

1..... 5.....
2..... 6.....
3..... 7.....
4..... 8.....

In House of Detention?.....
In Juvenile Court?.....
In Glen Mills?.....
In Protectory?.....
In Elliott House?.....
In Downingtown Industrial School?.....
General Health..... Good..... Fair..... Poor.....
Work after school (type and frequency).....
Work on Sat. (type and frequency).....
Recreation—type.....
Musical ability..... Age of playmates.....
Belongs to gang..... Age when misbehavior began.....

APPENDIX C

The Behavior-Problem Boy

Disposition of Boys Dropped 1926–1927

Name..... Address.....

Length of time in O. D. School (in months).....

Date of dismissal (mo.)..... (da.)..... (yr.).....

Date of Birth	*Race*	*Birth Place*	
		Child	*Father*
.....	.....	.....	.....

Grade when leaving school.....

Disposition of case (check)

— Transfer to regular class
— Transfer to regular class and returned
— Transfer to O. B. Class
— Working certificate..... Kind of job secured.....
— Past 16 yrs.
— Transfer to Parochial School
— To correctional institution (state which)
.....
— Other disposition of case (state what)
.....

Cause of commitment, if to an institution
.....
.....

APPENDIX D

Whittier Scale for Grading Home Conditions

INDIVIDUAL RECORD BLANK

No..... Home No.....
Name..... Recorder.....
Location of home.....

Summary of Grading

I. Necessities.....Score.....
II. Neatness.....Score.....
III. Size.....Score.....
IV. Parental Conditions.....Score.....
V. Parental Supervision.....Score.....
Total Home Index.....
Neighborhood: I...II...III...IV...V...N.I...

Comments

California Bureau of Juvenile Research, Whittier State School, Whittie
California. Dec., 1922. 1000.

No.....Name.....Date.....

WHITTIER SCALE FOR GRADING HOME CONDITIONS

EXPLANATION AND DIRECTIONS FOR USING

Purpose of the scale. The Whittier scale for grading home conditions is intended to furnish a means for uniformly judging the quality of homes in which children live. Experience has demonstrated that by its use a much better idea of the relative status of a home may be obtained than through unclassified descriptions, because of the advantage of comparing the data with previously graded reports.

Where the scale applies. Any home in which one or more children are living may be graded by this method, if the conditions are accurately described. The scale has been used successfully in studying the homes of children who have become public charges, and with equal success in grading the homes of ordinary school children.

The basis of grading. In order that the information may be recorded conveniently and systematically it is divided into five parts or *items.* If the report is well written, the headings of these items will be found to appropriately represent most of the significant facts. Important information which cannot be classified under one of these headings should not be discarded, but should be recorded on the unprinted page at the end of the blank. The items are as follows:

I. NECESSITIES: the status of the home with reference to the ordinary needs of life; income, food and clothing, shelter, etc.

II. NEATNESS: the order and taste in which the home is arranged; also its condition from the standpoint of sanitation and health.

III. SIZE: relative size, with reference to the number of persons living in the home.

IV. PARENTAL CONDITIONS: the important facts concerning the parents, the extent to which they are living together, and the degree of harmony which usually prevails.

V. PARENTAL SUPERVISION: the extent to which the parents (or guardians) exercise their jurisdiction over the physical, mental and moral welfare of the children; the quality and fairness of this control.

The home index: After the data for all items are recorded, each item is accorded a grade on a scale of 5 points, according to its agreement in *quality,* not in specific detail, with the graded samples of actual homes on the *Standard Score Sheet,* the use of which is necessary to uniform grading. The sum of the item-grades constitutes the *Home Index.*

Reference for further information: Persons using the scale should consult "A Guide to the Grading of Homes", obtainable from the California Bureau of Juvenile Research at ten cents per copy.

HISTORICAL

(Include here any data of historical nature which would not logically appear under the five main heads; especially changes in (1) residence, (2) financial condition, (3) physical, mental and moral conditions, (4) family relations.)

I. NECESSITIES	SCORE

OUTLINE: NECESSITIES: *a. Income;* including the amount (per year), source, regularity, how long it has been received, and in what general economic group (*destitute, poor, comfortable, well-to-do, wealthy*) the family belongs. *b. Food and clothing;* their quality and quantity, so far as may be related to, or indicate, the economic status of the home. *c. Shelter;* the kind of house and its serviceability for protection. *d. Furnishings;* note kind, quality and serviceability of interior furnishings, including furniture, carpets, rugs, etc., which may be considered as "necessities". *e. Comforts;* heating, lighting, sleeping facilities, etc.

II. NEATNESS	SCORE

OUTLINE: NEATNESS: *a. Interior sanitation;* presence or absence of dirt, flies and other insanitary conditions. Methods of keeping home free from disease. *b. Interior arrangement;* the extent to which the furnishings are conveniently and efficiently arranged. *c. Exterior sanitation;* cleanliness of the porches, yards, outbuildings, etc. with special reference to conditions which spread or prevent disease. *d. Exterior arrangement;* orderliness and convenience of grounds, lawns, buildings, fences, etc. *e. Use of equipment;* the judgment and efficiency with which the household plant is used.

III. SIZE	SCORE

OUTLINE: SIZE: *a. Accommodation;* number and size of rooms, with reference to number of persons living at home. *b. Arrangement;* best represented by a rough drawing, showing general floor plan, with relative location of different rooms. *c. Convenience;* deduced from number of persons and arrangement of rooms. *d. Number of residents;* number of persons living at home Enumerate number of children, able adults and dependent adults. *e. Exterior;* Size and convenience of exterior, including porches and surrounding yard.

IV. PARENTAL CONDITIONS	SCORE

OUTLINE: PARENTAL CONDITIONS: *a. Intelligence;* in the sense of social adaptability, classifying parents tentatively as apparently superior, average, inferior, feeble-minded. *b. Harmony;* frequency or infrequency of quarreling, nagging, etc. between parents; the extent to which they strive for common aims. *c. Reasons for separation;* applies only in case one parent has left the home. *d. Presence at home;* extent to which parents remain at home, especially at times when to best interests of the children. *e. Adjustments;* in case one or both parents are permanently absent, what arrangements have been made which effect in any way the welfare of the children.

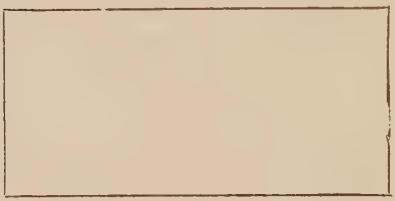
V. PARENTAL SUPERVISION	SCORE

OUTLINE: PARENTAL SUPERVISION: *a. Interest;* note the extent to which the parents seem interested in the intellectual, physical and moral welfare of the children. *b. Discipline;* form used, and whether intelligent and kind, too strict, or lax. *c. Equality of treatment;* whether, in case of more than one child, supervision and discipline are equally and fairly administered. *d. Parental example;* note the general moral character of parents, their habits of speech and action which might be imitated by the children, to their advancement or detriment. *e. Extension of supervision;* with special attention to evening, Sunday and holiday arrangements when children are not under school supervision.

APPENDIX E

Whittier Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions
individual record blank

No..... Neighborhood No.....
Name..... Recorder.....
Location of neighborhood.....



Summary of Grading

I. Neatness, Sanitation, Improvements.....Score.....
II. Recreational Facilities.....Score.....
III. Institutions and Establishments.....Score.....
IV. Social Status of Residents.....Score.....
V. Average Quality of Homes.....Score.....
Total Neighborhood Index.....
Home: I.....II.....III.....IV.....V.....H.I.....

Comments

Whittier State School, Department of Research, July, 1918.

No.....Name.....Date.....

WHITTIER SCALE FOR GRADING NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS

Explanations and Directions for Using

Purpose of the scale. The Whittier scale for grading neighborhood conditions is intended to furnish a means for uniformly judging the quality of neighborhoods in which children live. Experience has demonstrated that by its use a much better idea of the relative status of a neighborhood may be obtained than through unclassified descriptions, because of the advantage of comparing the data with previously graded reports.

Where the scale applies. Any neighborhood in which one or more children are living may be graded by this method, if the conditions are accurately described. The scale has been used successfully in studying the neighborhoods of children who have become public charges, and with equal success in grading the neighborhoods of ordinary school children.

The basis of grading. In order that the information may be recorded conveniently and systematically it is divided into five parts or *items*. If the report is well written, the headings of these items will be found to appropriately represent most of the significant facts. Important information which cannot be classified under one of these headings should not be discarded, but should be recorded on the unprinted page at the end of the blank. The items are as follows:

I. NEATNESS, SANITATION, IMPROVEMENTS: the status of the neighborhood with reference to the general appearance, cleanliness, sanitary equipment, and modern improvements.

II. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: the extent to which provision is made for recreation in the homes and neighborhood.

III. INSTITUTIONS AND ESTABLISHMENTS: the kind and value of educational, industrial, and social institutions in the neighborhood, with special reference to their probable moral effect on the community.

IV. SOCIAL STATUS OF RESIDENTS: educational, vocational, and moral conditions, including standards of living.

V. AVERAGE QUALITY OF HOMES: an estimate of the probable range of home indices, as compared with that of the propositus, according to Whittier Scale for Grading Home Conditions.

The Neighborhood Index: After the data for all items are recorded, each item is accorded a grade on a scale of 5 points, according to its agreement in *quality*, not in specific detail, with the graded samples of actual neighborhoods on the *Standard Score Sheet*, the use of which is necessary to uniform grading. The sum of the item-grades constitutes the *Neighborhood Index*.

References for further information: Persons using the scale should consult Research Bulletin No. 8, Whittier State School, 1919; also "A Guide to the Grading of Homes", Research Bulletin No. 7, 1918.

HISTORICAL

(Include here any data of historical nature which would not logically appear under the five main heads; especially concerning (1) former neighborhoods in which propositus has lived, (2) permanency of residence, (3) changes in economic and social conditions of present neighborhood.)

I. NEATNESS, SANITATION, IMPROVEMENTS	SCORE

OUTLINE: NEATNESS, SANITATION, IMPROVEMENTS: *a. Arrangement;* including relative number, size, neatness, and general appearance of homes, yards, and buildings. *b. Cleanliness;* provision for sanitary needs such as disposal of garbage and sewage, presence or absence of flies, mosquitoes, filth, etc., with special reference to conditions which spread or prevent disease. *c. Roadways;* condition of highways, streets, alleys, and sidewalks, noting quality of pavement, improvements, amount of dust, etc., and provision for street lighting at night. *d. Light and water;* state how provided in homes and adequacy of facilities. *e. Transportation and communication;* distance from street cars, bus lines, railway stations, and highways, adequacy of mail service, telegraph and telephone facilities.

II. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES	SCORE

OUTLINE: RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: *a. Home;* relative extent to which reading, games, music, etc., are provided in relation to the size of homes, number of occupants, financial condition, and intelligence of parents living in the neighborhood. *b. Commercial;* as moving pictures, theatres, shows, dances, amusement resorts, etc., with estimate as to moral quality as *inferior, medium, superior.* *c. Playground facilities;* amount of space available, adaptability for play purposes, kind of equipment provided, etc. *d. Other public facilities;* including parks, municipal entertainments, social centers, social activities of churches, lodges, clubs, etc. *e. Uses;* extent to which the available facilities are patronized by residents, especially in relation to financial, industrial, racial and other economic or social conditions.

III. INSTITUTIONS AND ESTABLISHMENTS	SCORE

OUTLINE: INSTITUTIONS AND ESTABLISHMENTS: (With special eference to their proximity to the homes, and their probable moral or immoral nfluence.) *a. Educational;* public and parochial schools, colleges, universities, ibraries, etc. *b. Favorable;* churches, missions, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., ettlement houses, etc. *c. Unfavorable;* saloons, pool-halls, breweries, disorderly ouses, proximity to police stations, jails, etc. *d. Industrial;* business districts, actories, stores, railroad yards, lumber yards, stock yards, machine shops, etc. *Unclassified;* hospitals, sanitariums, lodge buildings, etc.

IV. SOCIAL STATUS OF RESIDENTS	SCORE

OUTLINE: SOCIAL STATUS OF RESIDENTS: *a. Education;* probable scholastic attainment of majority of residents, classifying them as *inferior* (ignorant or practically unschooled) *medium* (common school education), *superior* (high school or college). Equivalents for formal schooling are acceptable. *b. Morality;* general moral level, classified as *inferior, medium, superior. c. Occupations;* vocations, trades, kind of employment common to the neighborhood, especially with reference to effect upon social status. *d. Diligence;* ambition, application to work, care of homes, etc. *e. Conduct;* general behavior, refinement, law-abiding, qualities of adults and children of the neighborhood (quiet, noisy, etc.)

V. AVERAGE QUALITY OF HOMES	SCORE

OUTLINE: AVERAGE QUALITY OF HOMES: Using propositus' home as a basis, estimate probable proportion of more favorable and less favorable homes in the neighborhood, with estimated range of home indices by *Whittier Scale for Grading Home Conditions.* The following items are considered in grading homes: (I) Necessities; (II) Neatness; (III) Size; (IV) Parental Conditions; (V) Parental Supervision. (See "A Guide to the Grading of Homes").

APPENDIX F

Subsequent History of Behavior-Problem Boys

Name.....

Born: Month..... Day..... Year..... Country.....

Date of dismissal from Lee School: Month..... Day..... Year.....

Age on admission..... Age at dismissal.....

Cause of dismissal (check)

a. To regular class.....

b. To work.....Grade when leaving.....

c. To correctional institution.....(state which).....

d. To parochial school (state which).....

Subsequent school history, if any:

Time remaining in school.....

Grade when leaving..... Date when leaving.....

Jobs held since leaving school

Type of work	*Length of time*	*Remuneration*
1.....	.....	.....
2.....	.....	.....
3.....	.....	.....
4.....	.....	.....
5.....	.....	.....
6.....	.....	.....
7.....	.....	.....
8.....	.....	.....
9.....	.....	.....
10.....	.....	.....
11.....	.....	.....
12.....	.....	.....
13.....	.....	.....
14.....	.....	.....
15. Present Position		

Arrested since leaving school.....No. times.....

CAUSE OF ARREST (OFFENSE)	DISPOSITION OF CASE
1.....	.....
2.....	.....
3.....	.....
4.....	.....
5.....	.....
6.....	.....
7.....	.....
8.....	.....
9.....	.....
10.....	.....

Married.....When.....No. children.....

Living with wife.....Separated.....Divorced.....

Condition of home

Cleanliness.....No. persons per room.....

Orderliness.....Size.....

Rent or own.....Neighborhood.....

Boarder.....Roomer.....Lives with.....

Contributing to support of others.....Whom.....

Any other brothers now in Special School.....

Attitude of subject toward such younger brothers.....

If unlocated, give all information obtained; also any pertinent facts concerning boy, if found.....

.....

APPENDIX G

Report of Psychological Examination

PARENTS' FIRST NAMES OR GUARDIAN'S FULL NAME	DATE OF BIRTH			FIRST NAME	NO. / LAST NAME
	MONTH	DAY	YEAR		
	1	1			

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY	RACE			DATE OF RECORD	GRADE	NAME OF PUBLIC SCHOOL	DIST.
	W	C	M				
Prin.							
Supt. Dist.					3B		
Comp. Bur.	x			1-27-28	OD	Boone	6
Med. Insp.							
Soc. Worker							
Mother							
Father							

PERSONALITY SUGGESTIONS

John is childish and immature in general appearance and response. Home conditions are apparently poor and John receives inadequate supervision. Judging from his story the household is run in a shiftless hit or miss fashion. Though there is an older brother not working John sells papers at 11th and Market every night, staying sometimes until around midnight. He insists that it is necessary for him to sell the papers in order to help the family finances.

John stated that he was frequently late for school because he had not been wakened in time. While he admits truancy he also stated that much of his absence was due to the fact his mother kept him home in order that he might collect wood from warehouses in the neighborhood of Spring Garden Street. She also would keep him home on the days when she wanted to attend to any affairs that would take her out of the home. In addition to looking none too well nourished, John has had ringworms and as a result there are bare patches on either side of his scalp. His clothing and body were unclean on the day of the examination.

From the mental standpoint John is dull and does not have the ability to get along satisfactorily in the regular grade. He has enough ability to acquire the fundamentals of school work provided he is given intensive teaching and drill. His work is inaccurate. Though he can do 4th grade addition examples his work with the number combinations is inaccurate. He needs to be given reading for comprehension as well as word recognition.

In view of the fact that this boy is a truant, is not receiving adequate home care, and is illegally working at night, it is recommended that effort be made to transfer this child to such an organization as Elliott House or Shallcross.

JESSIE M. LIGHTFOOT,
Supervisor, Mental Examinations.

Copy—Prin., Dist. Supt., Mr. Gideon.

Form S 76—Individual Psychological Report, Boys—School District of Philadelphia (Feb. 1929)

LANGUAGE ABILITY (Indicate by Check)

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCHOOL SUBJECTS)

	SUPER.	GOOD	FAIR	INFER.	NONE
Vocabulary.....3600 words				x	
General Information.....					
Reading.....3 grade			x		
Phonics.....grade					
Sight words.....4 grade					
Spelling.....3 grade		x			
Geography.....grade					
History.....grade					

(With Special Reference to Form of Expression)

	YES	NO
Returns what he has read		
Enjoys reading		
Understands what he has read	weak	
Sentence Structure (Oral) Uses complete sentences		
Uses correct sentences		
Sentence Structure—uses complete sentences		
(Written) Uses correct sentences		
Paragraphs		
Definitions—in terms of use (Kgn, Level)		
in terms of genus (3rd Grade Level)		
Gives differences	x	
Gives Likenesses	x	
Classifies		x

Mental Age....8 Yrs.....9 Mos. Intelligence Quotient.....78....
Morgan Test.....Age.....Grade

MEMORY SPAN

	DIGITS	SUPERIOR	AGE LEVEL	INFERIOR
Auditory	5			slightly
Visual	6			
Reverse	3			x
Kinesthetic				
Tapping				
Syllables				

PERFORMANCE TEST

	SUPERIOR	GOOD	FAIR	INFERIOR	NONE
Understanding			x		
Learning			x		
Speed			x		
Planfulness					x
Observation			x		

ARITHMETIC

GRADES	1A	1B	2A	2B	3A	3B	4A	4B	5A	5B	6A	6B
Counting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Addition	...	...	...	...	...	x.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Subtraction	...	...	...	...	...	x.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multiplication	...	...	...	...	x.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Division	...	...	...	...	...	x.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fractions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Decimals	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Percentage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mensuration	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Algebra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...

APPENDIX H

Case Studies

The brief case studies that follow make no pretense to completeness. They have not been selected as indicative of the effectiveness of the school and other agencies in curative work. To undertake such a task is beyond the scope of this report. The more important and salient aspects of the cases are mentioned to point out some of the factors involved in the production of behavior problems among boys. References are made to the case studies in the previous chapters to illustrate concretely the points being discussed. These studies are further intended to show the need of individual treatment and, together with the data presented in the other sections of the survey, to make more complete the picture of the problem boy.

CASE I

E. B. Born, Roumania, March 9. 1913

E. was sent to the disciplinary school charged with being a constant source of annoyance to teachers and principal, because of impudence, bad temper, destructiveness, and lack of truthfulness. He is the oldest of four children of Armenian parents who recently migrated to this country. The father and stepmother are indulgent in handling the boy and indifferent toward the matter of attendance, especially at the disciplinary school. They encourage the boy in his attitude of non-conformity by discussing matters pertaining to him in his presence. The father is particularly antagonistic toward America and American institutions, feeling that he has not been granted the opportunity to prosper to the extent that his abilities and ambition warrant. This spirit of antagonism is reflected in the boy's attitude.

The results of an individual psychological examination show that he falls in the dull-normal group, having an I. Q. of 80. At the time of the examination he was retarded two years for his age but was doing fairly good work in his grade with the exception of arithmetic. Considering the fact that he had only been in the United States for a few years he was making a fair rate of progress in spite of a limited vocabulary. While he could not solve problems well at his age level he showed fairly good manual ability on performance tests.

During the period that E. was enrolled in the disciplinary school no progress was made in creating a desire on his part to conform. The traits he presented in his former school continued to manifest themselves in the new environment. His greatest difficulty was experienced with the other boys in his class. According to his story they were always "picking" on him. Investigation showed that he was most often the originator of the quarrel. He was prone to cast

derogatory comments to and about the boys in his class. Added to this was his attitude of "better than thou", which was not unnoticed by his companions. Having their ill-will it required little effort on his part to make them retaliate as only such boys know how. It was only by diligent watchfulness on the part of his teachers that he was not severely beaten on the streets while on the way to and from school.

The Child Guidance Clinic became interested in the case of E. and endeavored to solve his problem. It became readily apparent to the Clinic, as it was to the school, that the boy was reflecting the attitude of the home and that success could only be secured by a reconstruction of the home influences. Persistent and continued efforts to furnish a more wholesome point of view to the boy were vitiated by the home. Five hours of school life, together with intermittent conferences at the Clinic, were not sufficient to combat the influences at work in the home life of the boy.

Several conferences were held between a representative of the Clinic and the school, and the conclusion was reached that the existing situation made the problem a hopeless one, and that if any measure of success were to be attained, the boy should be removed from the influence of the home. Further, during his absence the Clinic would endeavor to reconstruct the mental attitude of the parents so that when the boy returned he would not be thrown again into the same atmosphere that was considered responsible for his behavior tendencies.

This program is now in the process of execution. The boy has been transferred to the Residential School and the Clinic is working with the home. The correctness of the diagnosis and the success of the program outlined are matters of conjecture. They can only be measured by a later study of the case when the family has been re-united and sufficient time has elapsed to permit measurement of the boy's reaction to the home environment.

Comment:

In this brief outline we have presented a problem case that originated in the home life of the boy through the attitude of the parents. Such a case is illustrative of the difficulties that are to be met in practically all problems where the home is a major factor in the production of anti-social tendencies. Just so long as the home conditions and influences are not properly adjusted little hope is to be entertained for success from the efforts exerted on the boy by the school during the few hours it has control over him. In this particular case the activity of the Child Guidance Clinic served to make possible the program that is being carried out, and whatever success may be obtained will be due largely to its efforts.

Only too often is there lacking the services of some such organization.

The school must fight the battle alone, knowing that there is little hope for any effective results.

CASE II

A. B. Born United States, August 2, 1912

A. B. was sent to the disciplinary school in September, 1925, because of chronic truancy, impudence and insolence. He is the youngest of three children, the two older being married and away from home. The parents are American born. They are indulgent with the boy, and defiant with the school authorities. They aid and abet him in his truancy, shielding him by all manner of subterfuge. When all other excuses fail they fall back upon a mythical early illness which periodically renders attendance at school impossible.

Intellectually A. B. belongs to the dull-normal group, having an I. Q. of 84. His school proficiency is at the fourth grade level, indicating a retardation of four years at the time the tests were given. He is careless and indifferent in his methods of working, has a very limited vocabulary for a boy of his age, but has well-developed muscular coordinations.

A. B.'s entire school career gives evidence of a progressive growth of an anti-social attitude. Most of this may be attributed to the influence of his mother. She dominates the home and indulges every whim of the boy. The father is a well-meaning individual, but too weak to assert himself. As a result of the solicitous attitude of the mother the boy feels that he is a law unto himself and should be permitted to do as he pleases. Consequently he gets into trouble practically every day that he attends school because of smoking, using profanity, or through failure to obey the requests of the teachers.

Two social workers have lent their efforts to those of the school in an attempt to solve the problem presented by this boy. Neither one was successful. The mother was found to be incapable of modifying her attitude toward the boy and his school delinquencies. No amount of reasoning or appeal could make her see that her influence over the boy was detrimental to his best interests. Finally, after a prolonged period of effort in attempting to make an adjustment in the home that would be reflected in the boy's conduct and attitude toward school, the method was changed and the magistrate's court employed to impress upon the mother that it was her duty to see that the child attended school. On eleven different occasions the parents have paid fines for their indifference and defiance of the compulsory school laws. That the defiance of the mother is deeprooted is evidenced by the negative results secured thus far. Despite the increasingly large fines paid, the attendance of the boy fails to improve.

The juvenile court has also been resorted to in a further attempt to solve the problem. The defiant attitude again manifested itself. The parents neglected to produce the boy in court when summoned, and he had to be brought in on a bench warrant. The judge placed him on truancy probation which was partially effective for a period of less than three months. At the time of writing the case is being returned to the juvenile court with a recommendation that the boy be committed to the Residential School or to the Elliott House, a philanthropic institution for delinquent boys.

Comment:

The case of A. B. stands out prominently as illustrative of the damage that may be done a child by a parent who is not only lacking in knowledge of child training but who also refuses to profit by the experience of social workers trained in child welfare. Viewing the case in perspective, we cannot hold much hope for the future of the boy. Now past fifteen years of age, he may be committed to an institution, but if so only for a very short period. The time remaining before the compulsory school law will release the boy is only a matter of a few months. The time is far too short for any constructive work to be effective. When he has passed the age of sixteen he will more than likely remain under the maternal influence and continue to have his present type of behavior patterns more firmly fixed.

CASES III AND IV

G. B. Born United States, September 30, 1915

Q. B. Born United States, September 22, 1914

Q. B., the older of the two boys, was originally sent to the disciplinary school in May, 1924, for truancy, laziness, cruelty, lateness and uncleanliness. He was sent next to a center for backward children, in the hope that he would fit into such an organization sufficiently well to justify the transfer. Such was not the case, however, and he was returned to the disciplinary school in October, 1926, again charged with truancy and cruelty to children, in addition to profanity and running out of school.

Q. is distinctly an O. B. (orthogenic backward) type. He has an I. Q. of 65 which places him in the high-grade moron group. Coming from a school for backward children one would naturally expect him to be markedly retarded. His arithmetic and reading abilities are not higher than third grade. His mentality is such that the regular grade classroom cannot afford the time to give the explicit directions and explanations that he needs in order to insure comprehension on his part.

G., the younger brother, has followed the same path. He was sent to the

disciplinary school along with his brother and also went with him to the O. B. center. His life at that school was of shorter duration than his brother's, and was marked by constant fighting with other children, with threatening, biting and striking the teachers.

Intellectually G. is somewhat higher than Q., having an I. Q. of 77. Like his brother, he is considerably retarded, with reading and arithmetic at the third grade level.

The home life of these two boys is very unfavorable. They live in two small rooms with their mother and her paramour, the father having deserted. Prior to his departure he was noted for his shiftlessness and gambling. The mother leaves home for work early each morning and gives the boys five or ten cents for food.

The family is known to many of the social welfare organizations of the city, among them the Family Society, the Public Welfare Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Domestic Relations Court, as well as the Social Service Department of the Philadelphia Public Schools. Efforts were made by several of these organizations to have the boys removed from the vicious home conditions that surround them. The net result of the work of these societies was the commitment of the boys to the Women's Christian Alliance, a welfare organization that cares for colored children by placing them in foster homes. This action was without any beneficial results, the boys leaving the new home after a few days and returning to the mother.

At the time of writing both boys are in the disciplinary school and will, more than likely, remain there until the compulsory school law permits them to leave.

Comment:

These two cases illustrate the combined effects of poor heredity and a vicious environment. Neither of the boys will be capable of doing other than unskilled labor. Efforts on the part of welfare organizations to help the family have been without result, due to the inability of the home to put forth the necessary intelligence to raise itself out of the mire into which it has sunk. What success might have been achieved with the boys was frustrated by their unwillingness to remain in the foster home selected for them. Evidently they preferred the squalor of their own home to the conditions prevailing in their new environment. The situation is further complicated by the fact that there are very few places to which negro boys may be sent in an effort to change the environmental factors that may be exercising an undesirable influence on them.

The future holds some hope for these unfortunate boys in that the Residential School in Philadelphia will, when enlarged, make provision for negroes. Even then it will be necessary to find some means of changing the home environ-

ment in preparation for the return of boys who have been subjected to a wholesome environment for a reasonable length of time. It is to be hoped that both these boys may be fortunate enough to receive the benefits that may be derived from such treatment as will be offered when the enlarged program of the Residential School begins to function.

CASE V

F. D. Born Italy, February 26, 1912

At the age of nine F. was sent to a disciplinary school for chronic disobedience. He made a practice of hooting and yelling in the classroom and babbling Italian with disorderly intent. He is the oldest of seven children whose parents brought him from Italy when he was a baby. Both parents are weak and unable to exercise control over the boy. They excuse much of his misconduct on the ground that an accident that occurred when he was about six years of age has made him "queer" and mischievous. The home and the children are dirty. Their clothes are usually in rags, and when new clothes are furnished them it is not long before they are in the same condition.

Between 1921 and 1926 four psychological examinations were given the boy. He consistently graded as a high moron, having an I. Q. of 67. Added to his low mentality he had a pronounced speech defect. There has been evidence that a considerable portion of this defect can be attributed to malingering, hoping thereby to gain sympathy. On occasions he could speak clearly and with little hesitation.

No amount of effort ever succeeded in keeping F. in school for any length of time. His habit of truancy grew more and more pronounced. When on the streets he spent his time stealing whatever he could lay his hands on, as a result of which he was frequently in the juvenile court.

The Social Service Department of the school system handled the case over a period of seven years. Food, clothing and medical attention were supplied to the family, but they seemed unable to rise above the squalor into which they had sunk. Attempts were made to relieve the family of the burden of F. by having him sent to an institution for backward children, but they stubbornly refused to sign the necessary papers. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was actively interested in the family for some time but had no greater success than the other social organizations.

The futility of the efforts being expended upon the boy and his family finally culminated in the filing of a petition in the juvenile court to have the boy committed. This was done, and for a period of one year the boy was under the control of the Catholic Children's Bureau and placed in the Protectory. After his release on parole he was re-enrolled in the disciplinary school. His old habits were as pronounced as ever and he was present on only a few

occasions. The parole officer of the Catholic Children's Bureau was informed regarding the truancy of the boy with a request that he be returned to the Protectory. When brought into court the parole was continued for a period of two months. At the end of that time the boy had attained sixteen years of age and was discharged from parole and his name dropped from the school register.

Comment:

The case of F. D. portrays the difficulties encountered in attempting to solve a problem that is primarily one of heredity. The conditions found in the home are only too frequently the concomitant of defective heredity. The self-evident solution of F.'s case was permanent commitment to an institution. His low intelligence and his emotional instability preclude any reasonable possibility of his performing even unskilled labor with any degree of constancy. His future will, more than likely, be parasitic. Added to this is the possibility that he will procreate and perpetuate the undesirable strain of which he is a part.

CASE VI

D. D. Born Italy, January 3, 1913

D. was sent to the disciplinary school in May, 1927, because of threatening children and teachers, using profanity, and causing disturbances throughout the school building. The mother, who speaks little English, remarried after the death of her husband and thereby lost the pension she had been receiving from the Mothers' Assistance Fund. Her second marriage was unsuccessful and she left her husband after living with him but one month.

In October, 1926, D. met with an automobile accident as a result of which he sustained a fractured skull. A piece of bone about one inch in diameter was removed from the fronto-parietal region and the depressed fracture was elevated. A month later he was discharged from the hospital as cured, but effected mentally by the fracture.

Psychological examinations give the boy an I. Q. of 73 and 76, placing him in the borderline group. Educationally he is retarded sufficiently to warrant his transfer to a backward (O. B.) class but his conduct is such that a disciplinary school is better adapted to suit his needs.

Since the accident D. has capitalized his injury to escape punishment for his misconduct. He takes advantage of other children, instigating quarrels and making it impossible for the boys to fight with him as he has broadcast the idea that he would die if anyone struck his head. At home he also uses his injury as a means of avoiding punishment. He comes and goes as he pleases, never explaining what he does or how he spends his time. His mother

is afraid to take him to task for his misbehavior because the boy has so strongly impressed upon her the danger involved in any attempt to punish him.

When transferred to the disciplinary school he declared that he was quite satisfied with the regular school and would not attend any other. His misbehavior has not abated since then nor has he been at all regular in attendance. His non-conformity is not confined to the school. He has been under arrest several times for theft and is now awaiting a hearing in court on a similar charge.

Home conditions are very poor. There is insufficient food for the family. The neighbors have contributed a considerable portion of what little sustenance has been furnished. Six or more welfare organizations have contributed to the support of the family at different times with little to show for their efforts. The Social Service Department of the school system is actively engaged on the case but with little hope for success.

During the progress of the case, D. was examined by a psychiatrist who concluded that his misbehavior was quite serious and that it looked as though he might have to be sent to a correctional institution. It was suggested that if this became necessary he should be sent to the country with people who have common sense and understanding, and who would endeavor to help the boy out of his difficulties. It is becoming increasingly evident that some such action is needed. The decision must rest with the court when the boy appears there on the charges of larceny and truancy.

Comment:

The evidence presented in this case seems to justify the conclusion that the injury sustained by the boy is the major factor in causing his delinquencies. The opportunity is offered the court to prevent the development of further anti-social tendencies, for a time at least, by committing him to some suitable institution where he can secure both treatment and training. It should also be arranged to continue this period until such time as he is definitely cured or pronounced incurable. In the latter case he should be placed permanently under custodial care as a protection to society.

CASE VII

S. S. Born United States, September 2, 1913

S. was sent to the disciplinary school in March, 1926. The statement of the case that accompanied his records read in part, "Confirmed truant. Absolute disobedience. Check forger. Chronic wanderer to out-of-town places. Case of post encephalitis. Teachers dread having S. in the room." Prior to 1923 the boy's conduct was normal. At that time he had sleeping sickness and since then has become a conduct problem.

Both parents were indulgent and did not cooperate with the school or the several welfare organizations that were attempting to find a solution to the problem of the boy's misconduct.

During the year that the boy was enrolled in the disciplinary school he gave increasing evidence of his instability. He was unable to work quietly for more than a few minutes at a time. He would begin to answer a question in a rational manner, then stop suddenly and say, "What did you ask me?" Investigation of his peculiarity readily disclosed the fact that he was not malingering. The habit of truancy grew and he was spending an increasing amount of time on the streets. During the period that the Sesqui-Centennial was open he could be found there whenever he was absent from school.

S. was first given a psychological examination in December, 1925, at which time he had an I. Q. of 101. In April, 1927, his I. Q. was 100. During this period he had not made any academic progress, remaining at the fifth grade level in most subjects.

The constant misbehavior of the boy and the futility of the efforts of social organizations to meet the needs of the case finally resulted in the juvenile court committing the boy to the care of the Jewish Welfare Society. He was then placed in a foster home outside the city and dropped from the school roll.

Two months later he reappeared. He had failed to adjust himself in his foster home and had been a constant source of trouble in the suburban school he attended. The boy's mother was constantly endeavoring to get him back and combatted all the efforts of the Society to do some effective work with him. It was finally agreed that the boy should be returned to his home whereupon the organization closed the case. The boy then presented himself at one of the junior high schools and represented himself as coming from a seventh grade in a suburban school. He was successful in being admitted but his conduct immediately got him into trouble and his duplicity was discovered, whereupon he was returned to the disciplinary school.

It was patent from the date of his first appearance at the school that he was not a problem for a disciplinary class, but should have institutional treatment. Efforts in this direction had been without success and, upon his reappearance, it was thought advisable that he should be excused permanently from school unless he could be satisfactorily placed. Recommendations to this effect were made with the result that he was examined by the Division of Medical Inspection which diagnosed the case as a post encephalitis psychosis. He was excused from further attendance as permanently incapacitated and therefore not a fit subject for education and training.

Since April, 1927, the boy has been free to come and go as he pleases. For a short period of time he worked as errand boy in an optical company but was discharged because he would hide packages and go home instead of delivering them to the customers.

Comment:

This case illustrates the effect of encephalitis on the conduct of an individual. While relatively rare among behavior cases this type taxes the patience and ingenuity of teachers, and should be recognized as incurable from the viewpoint of the disciplinary school. Institutional treatment should have been arranged for the boy before he was transferred from the regular school. Without this kind of care there is little hope that the boy will ever be able to occupy a useful place in society. Unfortunately there are few places that handle such cases, which complicates the problem for those interested in its solution. At the present time plans are being made to open a class for encephalitic cases in Allentown, Pennsylvania. If these plans mature an opportunity will be given for S. to go there for such treatment as the class may offer. Herein lies the only discernible chance for him to overcome the nervous instability that has thus far ruined his life.

CASE VIII

W. G. Born United States, August 25, 1912

W. came to the disciplinary school with a most unenviable record. Following the death of his father from acute alcoholism he had been placed in a Baptist Orphanage where he was a constant source of trouble. He was finally dismissed for striking one of the matrons and for inducing four other boys to run away. He then went to live with his mother and stepfather. He entered a parochial school where he attempted to strike a Sister, for which he was expelled. His behavior in the public school was such that he was examined in the belief that a mental condition existed. The results of the examination disclosed no such condition, but attributed his behavior to the absence of discipline. He had an I. Q. of 70, placing him among the borderline defectives. The recommendation was made that he be sent to a backward school in the hope that he would make a better adjustment there. This was done, but without success. He was taken to task for attempting to strike a teacher and followed by striking at the principal.

For a period of several months he was kept in control at the disciplinary school. The strain was too great for the boy and he began to use the tactics he had employed in former schools. He made insulting remarks to the teachers, called out in the classrooms, and resented all authority. When finally taken to task for his continued misconduct he was very resentful and reverted to his old habit of striking the person who was reprimanding him. As a result of his efforts he secured a thrashing which was temporarily effective.

The home life of the boy was very unfortunate. His stepfather was a heavy drinker and did not contribute to the support of the home, making it necessary for the mother to work. Consequently W. was without supervision during

the day. In the evenings the stepfather frequently came home drunk, and abused everyone present. The boy is afraid of his step-parent although he frequently bragged about how he shook his fist at him. The mother has been cooperative with the school officials in their efforts to make an adjustment that would meet the needs of the boy, although she seemed to be more interested in a good time than in her children.

Of the six children by her first marriage only two are at home. Three are in orphanages or with welfare organizations, and the oldest is in the navy. Two children by the second union are also at home. During the past fifteen years, ten different organizations have been interested in the welfare of the home and the children, with little results of a tangible nature.

A neuro-psychiatric examination made in February, 1927, resulted in the suggestion being made that since the home situation could not be improved, due to the fact that the stepfather was a drinking man and the mother worked every day and the boy had borderline intelligence, he should be put in a training school where he could have manual training and constant supervision. With the mother's approval he was transferred to the Residential School where he is at the present time.

Comment:

Defective intelligence, poor home environment and lack of discipline have all contributed their share towards the development of the pronounced anti-social tendencies of this boy. Low intelligence alone cannot be held accountable. Had he received the proper home training and discipline it is possible that he would have been able to progress through school without any great amount of conflict, and eventually have been able to enter some occupation requiring only a limited amount of intelligence. His future seems to be precarious. During the time he remains at the Residential School he may be able to make a sufficient adjustment to enable him to conform sufficiently in later years to keep out of serious mischief.

CASE IX

M. M. Born United States, August 14, 1912

M. was charged with disobedience, walking out of school, general disregard of school regulations and theft of a bicycle from the locker room of the junior high school that sent him to the disciplinary school in November, 1925.

He is the only child of a widowed mother who was attempting to finish payments on a six-room home, well furnished and very neatly kept. She earned her money by baking and washing, and had a clientele among the neighbors. M. was called upon to help by collecting and delivering the washes, and by delivering the cakes and other food-stuffs his mother made. Prior to the

year he was sent to the disciplinary school he had a fair record both as regards conduct and work, having attained the eighth grade when he was thirteen years of age. During recent months he began to appropriate his mother's money and disappear from home for several days at a time. The Social Service Department of the school system was actively interested in the case at the time of his transfer. There was nothing in the home situation that would account for his behavior unless it was the fact that his spare time was limited because of the duties he had to perform for his mother, or because of the absence of paternal influence.

His conduct at the disciplinary school was sporadic. At times he conducted himself exceedingly well. Suddenly he would fail to appear, then word would be received that he had again stolen money from his mother and had disappeared. A member of the Big Brothers' Association became interested in the boy and agreed to take him under his care. This plan was successful for a period of several months. Then the boy fell back into his old habits of lying and stealing, growing worse as time went on.

A psychological examination showed him to have an I. Q. of 109, with better than average ability in most of the school subjects.

M. failed steadily to make an adjustment in the disciplinary school. He was cordially disliked by the boys who referred to him as "she", possibly because of his very neat appearance and his polite manner. His continued and progressively increasing misconduct finally resulted in the filing of a petition in the juvenile court recommending transfer to the Residential School. The court approved the recommendation and the boy spent a period of six months there, after which he was sent home and attended one of the high schools. Hardly a month had elapsed before he again reverted to his old habits of stealing money and running away from home.

Comment:

M. illustrates the undefinable type that, as Breckenridge and Abbott say, "cannot be explained away". The absence of a father from the home may be a factor in the case, but there is no evidence to indicate that such is the case. There may be psychopatic tendencies in M.'s make-up, although no evidence of this was discovered during the psychological examination. His native intelligence, poise and plausibility make his case exceedingly serious. Unless a very strong personality is able to influence him in the right direction there is grave danger that M. will become increasingly difficult to handle. His past history gives evidence of the ease with which he may develop into a criminal and confidence man.

CASE X

A. S. Born United States, June 10, 1914

A. was sent to the disciplinary school as a result of persistent refusal to obey. He was a constant source of annoyance when in the classroom. In the school yard he persisted in beating the smaller children. When not inclined to attend school he played truant, spending his time hanging about the school premises.

His home life was marked with dissention. He quarreled with his older brother and his six younger brothers and sisters. He associated with colored boys in the neighborhood who were older than he, and his parents feel that these friends of his have had a bad influence on him. The mother has never been able to control him. He swears and curses at her and has no respect for anyone except his father who beats him unmercifully. Quite frequently he steals from the home and disappears for a week at a time.

Intellectually he may be classed as a borderline defective, having an I. Q., of 78. Educationally he is gravely retarded in all his school subjects, with no proficiency above the third grade.

The inability of the home to control the boy seems to have been due largely to indifference on the part of the parents. They cared little whether he attended school, and failed to cooperate with the school in its efforts to bring the boy to an understanding of what was expected of him. Resort to the magistrate's court had no effect upon either them or the boy. His misconduct continued and he was rarely in attendance. The Jewish Welfare Society became interested in the case and found a foster home for the boy. He remained there but a few days and then returned home where his conduct grew steadily worse. The Juvenile Court finally committed him to the Residential School from which he ran away less than a month after admission. He was re-enrolled in the disciplinary school pending his reappearance in court, at which time he was committed to Glen Mills.

Six months later he was paroled and entered an O. B. class where he attended regularly for several months. The lure of his old environment than began to reassert itself. His truancy and misconduct soon became such that he was returned from parole and is at the present time back in Glen Mills.

Comment:

A. is representative of a great number of boys who become problem cases through a combination of cirumstances. His low intelligence and his home environment make him any easy victim of the apparently vicious neighborhood environment and associates. Had his home life been wholesome and his parents interested, he might have been moved to a better neighborhood where there was a possibility of success even with his limited intelligence.

The type of treatment offered in a foster home and in the Residential School was evidently not sufficiently strict to curb his wayward tendencies. The influence of his training in the reform school wore off when he was again returned to his old environment. If his present commitment is sufficiently long and he is given an opportunity to begin anew in a different environment he may make a success of life. Even this seems doubtful due to the rapidity with which he grew progressively worse in spite of all efforts made to curb his anti-social tendencies.

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